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ALLAN D. HUX / J.A. BRANDÃO / MOIRA WONG

My Country, Our History

Canada from 1867 to the Present

Pippin Publishing

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Suite 232, 85 Ellesmere Road
Scarborough
Ontario M1R 4B9

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First Printing 1994
Reprinted 1995, 1997

Designed by John Zehethofer
Illustrations by Jim Loates
Contributing Editor: Elizabeth Coelho
Photo Researcher: Susan Wallace-Cox
Edited by Geraldine Kikuta and Dyanne Rivers
Typeset by Jay Tee Graphics Ltd.
Printed and bound in Canada by Friesens

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Hux, Allan D., 1948-
My Country, Our History

ISBN 0-88751-047-7

1. Readers (Adult). 2. Readers for new literates. 3. Readers - Canada – History. 4. Canada – History.

I. Brandão, J.A. (Joseph A.) II. Wong, Moira. III. Title

FC170.H8 1994 428.6'2 C94-932094-3
F1026.H88 1994

ISBN 0-88751-047-7

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3

Pippin Publishing Corporation acknowledges the assistance of the Government of Ontario through the Ontario Publishing Centre, Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Recreation, in the publication of this book.

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CHAPTER ONE

What Is Canada?

Canada's Maple Leaf flag

In this chapter, you will learn about what Canada is like today. You will also learn about who lived in Canada in the past and who lives in Canada now.

How big is Canada?

Canada is the second largest country in the world, but the **population** is small. Many Canadians live in a few large cities **located in** the southern part of Canada. The rest of the population lives all over Canada. 1

QUESTIONS

a. Which country in the bar graph has a larger area than Canada?
b. Use the bar graph to find the countries that have larger populations than Canada.

Figure 1.1 Land Area of World's 10 Largest Countries

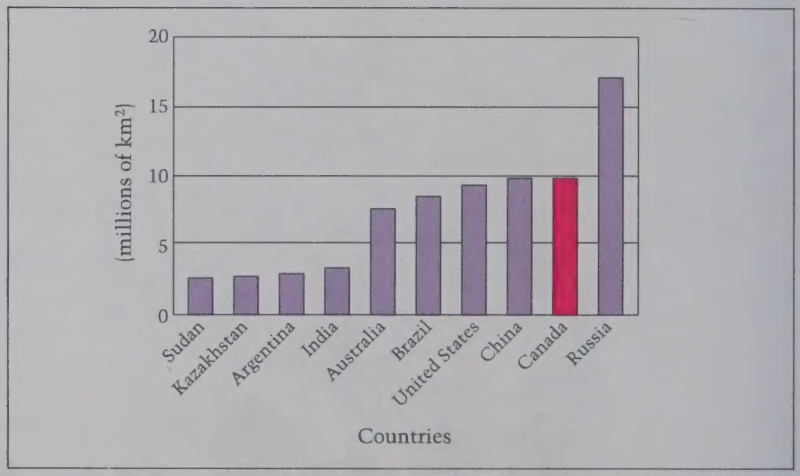
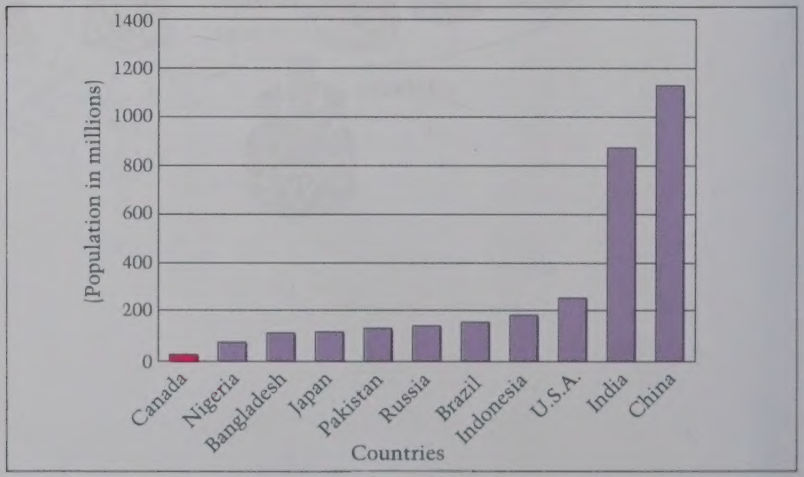


Figure 1.2 Population of Canada Compared with the World's 10 Most Heavily Populated Countries, 1991



Rocky Mountains

Arctic

Canadian Shield

Figure 1.3 Physical Regions of Canada

Prairies

Coast of Newfoundland

Why do most Canadians live in the southern part of the country?

Southern Canada has a **temperate** climate: it is neither too hot nor too cold. Canada has four **seasons**: spring, summer, fall, and winter. Farther north, winters are longer and colder. The other seasons are shorter. 2

Canada has water on three sides: the Pacific Ocean to the west; the Atlantic Ocean to the east; and the Arctic Ocean to the north. Hudson Bay and the St. Lawrence River are **waterways**: ships can use them to travel into the centre of Canada. 3

Rivers have always been very important as waterways in the history of Canada. Before there were roads, railways, or airplanes, rivers were important for moving people and **products** to and from the ocean. The St. Lawrence, the Mackenzie, Fraser, Saskatchewan, Ottawa, and St. John rivers are important waterways. Because rivers were important to people, Canadians have always tried to live near them. 4

Hudson Bay is **surrounded by** a very large **rock formation**, the Canadian Shield. There is good farmland along the St. Lawrence River and between the Great Lakes. Between the Canadian Shield and the Rocky Mountains are the Prairies. Prairie land is flat. It is famous for growing wheat. 5

There are some famous mountains between the Prairies and the Pacific Ocean. These are the Rocky Mountains (the Rockies). They are the highest mountains in Canada. 6

To the north, the trees become smaller and fewer. North of the **treeline**, it is too cold for trees to grow. Here the **arctic tundra** stretches north to the Arctic Ocean and its many islands. 7

Canada is very rich in **natural resources**, such as trees, fish, and oil. We use trees to make paper products and to produce furniture and building products. The fishing industry is important on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts. Oil and **natural gas** are important in the West. The Canadian Shield produces **minerals**, such as gold, nickel, and copper. Even our water is a resource: we use the power of our rivers to make electricity. We sell our natural products to countries all over the world. 8

What jobs do Canadians have?

Many jobs in Canada **depend** on our natural resources. Almost a hundred years ago, more than half of Canada's population lived on farms or in **rural communities**. The **primary** (natural resource) industries in their areas provided jobs for people living there. For example, a miner, his son, and his grandson could work for the same mining company. However, there is a disadvantage to living in a community that depends on a single natural resource. If the mining company closes, all family members who work for that company lose their jobs. 9

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, more and more people left the rural areas and moved to cities, or **urban** areas. The **manufacturing** 10

Coal mining in Alberta

Logging in British Columbia

Farming in Saskatchewan

industries in the cities needed workers. Many Canadians started to move to the cities to work in **factories**.

Jobs in **service industries** also drew people to cities. **Finance**, government, entertainment and stores are examples of service industries. 11

Many people work in the communication and information industries, mostly in urban areas. 12

1

2

3

4

5

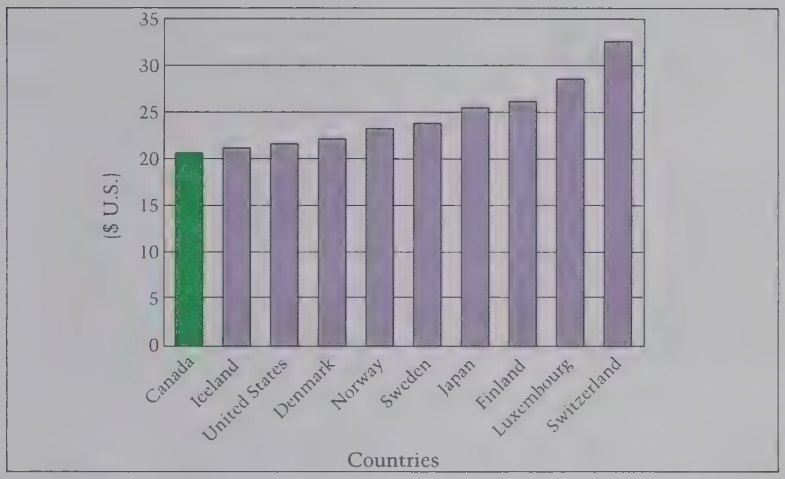
6

Identify the type of industry each of these photos represents.

Today, more than 75 per cent of Canadians live in urban areas. About 30 per cent of Canadians live in and around Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. Fewer and fewer Canadians are living in rural communities. 13

The **average income** in Canada is one of the highest in the world. But incomes are different in different parts of the country, and sometimes jobs are hard to find. People may lose their jobs when an industry has problems. When people need help, government provides services 14

Figure 1.4 The 10 Countries with the Highest Average Incomes



Source: Statistics Canada

Table 1.1
Average Per Capita Income, 1990

Location	Cdn $
Newfoundland	18 769
Prince Edward Island	19 102
Nova Scotia	20 848
New Brunswick	19 827
Quebec	22 391
Ontario	26 216
Manitoba	21 129
Saskatchewan	20 638
Alberta	24 430
British Columbia	24 750
Yukon Territory	26 803
Northwest Territories	26 467
Canada	24 001

Source: Statistics Canada, Cat. 93-331.

such as unemployment insurance and welfare. Canada's governments also provide other services for people, such as health care, education, and public utilities.

QUESTIONS

a. Explain in your own words this statement: "Many Canadians **depend on** natural resources."
b. Why did many Canadians move from **rural communities** to urban areas?
c. Use the graph in Figure 1.4 that compares **average incomes** in the top ten countries in the world. Which country has the highest income? the second highest income? the third highest?

Why is there more than one government in Canada?

The government of Canada is called the **federal government**. The federal government looks after many things that are important to all Canadians. The capital city of Canada is Ottawa, Ontario. 15

Canada is so big that the federal government cannot look after everything. Also, people who live and work in the different regions of Canada have different needs, problems, and traditions. Each **province** has its own capital city and its own **provincial government**. These governments understand how their people live and work, and what they need. Canada has ten provinces and two territories. 16

QUESTIONS

a. What things might people in a Prairie community need from the government?

"I am a native of North America. My father ... learned from infancy how to love people and be at home with them.... My father loved the earth and all its creatures. The earth was his second mother. The earth and everything it contained was a gift from See-see-am...and the way to thank this great spirit was to use his gifts with respect.

"I remember, as a little boy, fishing with him up Indian River and I can still see him as the sun rose above the mountain top in the early morning...I can see him standing by the water's edge with his arms raised above his head while he softly moaned... 'Thank you, thank you.' It left a deep impression on my young mind.

"And I shall never forget his disappointment when once he caught me gaffing for fish 'just for the fun of it.' 'My Son,' he said. 'The Great Spirit gave you those fish to be your brothers, to feed you when you are hungry. You must respect them. You must not kill them just for the fun of it.' "

Chief Dan George, My Heart Soars

b. What things might people in an Atlantic Canada community need from the government?
c. What things might people in an urban manufacturing community need from the government?

Who were the first people to live in Canada?

The First Nations people lived in Canada first. They are sometimes called Native people, Aboriginal people, or Indians. The First Nations lived here for thousands of years before anyone else. Many of the names that we have for places in Canada come from the languages of the First Nations. Our name "Canada" comes from the Iroquoian word, *kanata*, which means "villages." 17

How was the land important to the First Nations?

The First Nations were also very dependent on the natural resources of the country, but they believed that individuals could not own the land and its resources. They believed, and still believe, that the land and its resources belong to everyone. 18

Different groups of First Nations people used the land in different ways. For example, the people who lived on the Prairies lived in small groups. They travelled from place to place to hunt animals for food, clothing, and other uses. The First Nations people on the West Coast depended on nature in a very different way. The ocean provided most of their food, and they lived in permanent villages. They used wood to build large wood houses, canoes, and totem poles. 19

In what is now Southern Ontario, the First Nations people were farmers and hunters. The East Coast Nations were very successful in using the forest plants for food and medicine. Forests also provided animals for meat. Rivers, lakes, and streams provided fish. 20

The Inuit in Northern Canada depended on the sea. For example, **seals** and their skins provided food, clothing, boots, boats, and tents. The Inuit also depended on **caribou** for their skins and meat. 21

Although different groups had different **cultures**, all the First Nations had their own laws and governments. They all believed that people are a part of nature (not the owners) and that people should take from nature only as much as they need. 22

The map on page 17 shows where the different First Nations lived in Canada before the Europeans came. There were many different cultures and about 50 different languages. Canada has always been a **multicultural** and **multilingual** country. 23

When people from France and then from Britain arrived in Canada, the First Nations helped them. Europeans had different ideas about the land: they wanted to own it. Year after year, more and more Europeans came and took the land from the First Nations. The Europeans 24

Various First Nations peoples lived in different types of housing. From top to bottom...
Haida village, Huron longhouse, Blackfoot tipi, Chippewa wigwam, and Cree tipi

Like her ancestors, this Inuit park worker still depends on nature. Here she is checking for erosion in the Pukaskwa National Park.

1 Iroquoian artifacts
2 Plains artifacts
3 Pacific Coast artifacts
4 Algonkian artifacts

had guns, which gave them power. Many of the First Nations had to move from their land onto land where other First Nations people lived. Sometimes this caused new wars between the First Nations. They fought each other instead of joining together to fight the Europeans. European language and culture became very powerful.

Europeans also brought **diseases**, like smallpox and typhus, which were new to the First Nations people. Many died. There was another problem: Europeans brought **alcohol**. Some **historians** believe that alcohol and disease were more important than guns in the story of what happened to the First Nations people after the Europeans came to Canada. Disease and alcohol are only two of the reasons the cultures, languages, and governments of the First Nations began to disappear.

QUESTIONS

a. How do First Nations people see Nature?

Figure 1.5 Territory of First Nations and Inuit Peoples, 1500

b. Look at the map in Figure 1.5. Locate where you live now in Canada. Which First Nations groups lived there before you? How did they depend on the natural resources in this area?

CANADIANS WHO MAKE A DIFFERENCE

Graham Greene

Graham Greene was born on the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford, Ontario. He is of the Oneida Nation. At one time a draftsman and a high steel construction worker, Greene began his acting career in 1976. He started in the theatre. Since then, he has acted in television shows, movies, and plays.

Graham Greene

After a meeting with the American actor, Kevin Costner, who told him "Don't cut your hair, we'll be in touch," Graham Greene got the part of Kicking Bird in the very popular movie *Dances with Wolves*. Since then, he has been a very busy actor in Canada and the United States.

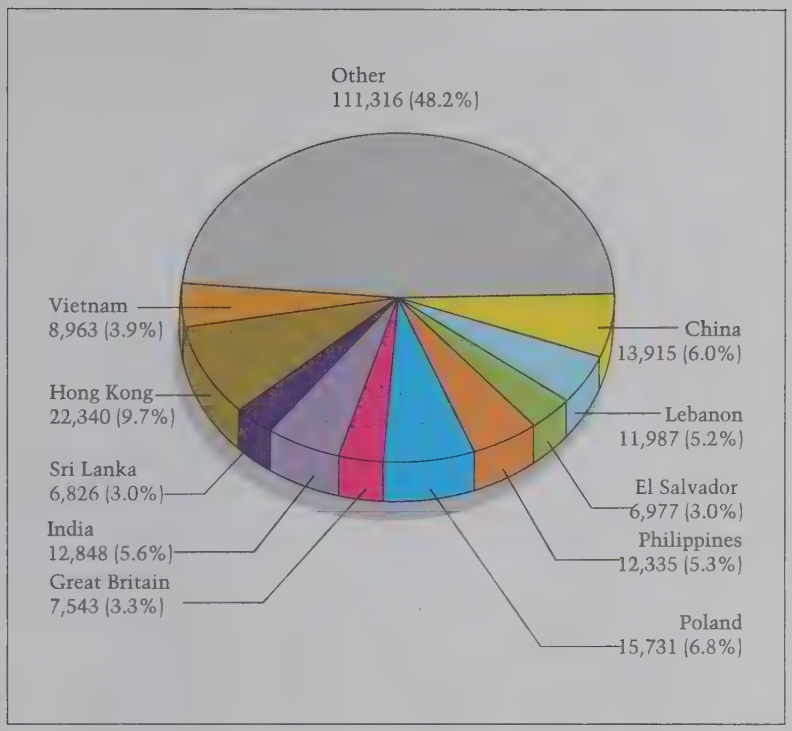
Who are the Canadian people now?

Canada is a very multicultural country. The First Nations people still live in all parts of the country. People from Europe, Asia, and Africa live here as well. In fact, Canadians with **ancestors** from every part of the world live here. 26

The first European **settlers** came to Canada from France and Britain. Immigrants from many countries came later. Most of the early immigrants were from Europe. Some non-European immigrants came to Canada too. **Loyalists** came from the United States. Loyalists were people who were loyal to Great Britain. They came to Canada when the Americans won their independence from Britain. Some Loyalists had African slaves who came with them. Some slaves fought for the British, so the British gave them freedom and offered them land in Canada. Many slaves escaped from the United States to Canada. 27

The Chinese came to find gold and later to help build the railway. People from India and Japan came to work in primary industries. At the beginning of this **century**, many people came from Eastern Europe. These people were farmers and they helped develop wheat farming in the West. 28

Figure 1.6 Where Immigrants to Canada Come from



Source: Immigration Canada, 1991

More than a hundred languages are spoken in Canada. Canada is a multilingual country. The city of Toronto is the most multilingual, multicultural city in the world! These were the top 15 languages in Canada in 1991.

English	16 516 180
French	6 505 565
Italian	449 660
Chinese	444 945
German	424 640
Portuguese	186 990
Polish	171 975
Ukrainian	166 830
Spanish	158 655
Dutch	124 535
Greek	114 370
Punjabi	113 225
Arabic	94 885
Tagalog	83 640
Hungarian	72 900

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991.

After the Second World War, people from many European countries came to start new lives. Many settled in the cities and worked in secondary (manufacturing) and service industries. After 1967, rules for immigration became more open and fair: many immigrants started to come from other parts of the world. The flow of immigrants from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and Central and South America increased in the 1970s and the 1980s. 29

What languages do Canadians speak?

The largest language group is English-speaking. This group includes the people who originally came from Britain and their descendants. It also includes other immigrants from all over the world who have learned to speak English. 30

It is not surprising that English-speaking people are the largest group. For many years Canada was a **colony** of Britain: Britain and Canada were major trading partners. Canada's form of government and its laws came from the British system. Today, the Queen of Great Britain is also the Queen of Canada. We remember our close **relationship** with Britain every time we use money or stamps! Living next to the United States of America has also increased the use of English in Canada. British and American **influence** has made English the language of business and entertainment for most Canadians. 31

The second largest language group in Canada is French. In 1760, about 60 000 people spoke French as a first language. Today, more than 6.5 million Canadians speak French as a first language. 32

What is important to Canadians?

Canadians have many **symbols**. These symbols tell us what Canadians think are important in their lives and in their history. For example, a picture of the Queen on many coins and bills shows our long relationship with Britain. Animals that were important to our country also appear on our coins. The beaver is one example. In our early history, beaver furs were traded between Native people and Europeans. 33

QUESTIONS

a. Look at the pictures at the beginning of this chapter. What other symbols of Canadian life do you see in this chapter?
b. With pictures from magazines and newspapers, create a collage of what you think **symbolizes** Canada.

CASE STUDY

SLAVE SONG (Anonymous)

Farewell, old master,
Don't come after me,
I'm on my way to Canada
Where coloured men are free

People of African Descent in Early Canada

The first Africans arrived in Canada around 1600. In the 200 years before Confederation, more came. Some came as slaves. Many more came as free people.

The first large group came as Loyalists to Nova Scotia during the American Revolution. Many others escaped from slavery in the United States and came to Upper Canada, where slavery became illegal in the years after 1793. By 1860, 62 000 people of African descent lived in Canada. Two-thirds of these immigrants lived in Ontario. After the Civil War, slavery became illegal in the United States, and the number of immigrants dropped. People of African descent did not immigrate in large numbers again until 1960.

The Refugee: or the Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada

These quotations are from this book by Benjamin Drew, who interviewed people of African descent who escaped from slavery in the United States. He asked them about their experiences

"The laws here are impartial. We have access to the public schools here, and we can have our children educated with the white children. If the children grow up together, prejudice will not be formed."

"My work is as hard here as it was in slavery. The hardest thing in slavery is not the work—it is the abuse of a man."

"I came in without a shilling. I now own a house and one hundred and one acres of land. I have averaged about fifteen acres of land a year that I cultivated...This enabled me to support myself and family."

This immigrant family settled in Alberta.

"I want to say to the coloured people in the United States:...if you wish to be free men, I hope you will all come to Canada.... There is plenty of land here, and schools to educate your children."

"Many of the whites object to having their children sit in the same forms with the coloured pupils, and some of the lower classes will not send their children to schools where the blacks are admitted."

"I look upon slavery as I do upon a deadly poison. The slaves are not contented nor happy in their lot.... My feet were frostbitten on the way North, but I would rather have died on the way than to go back."

QUESTIONS

a. Which quotes show that Canadian society treated the African Americans fairly?
b. Which quotes show that Canadian society treated the African Americans unfairly?
c. Do you think that Canadian society treats all groups of people fairly today? Explain your opinion.

Mary Ann Shadd

Mary Ann Shadd

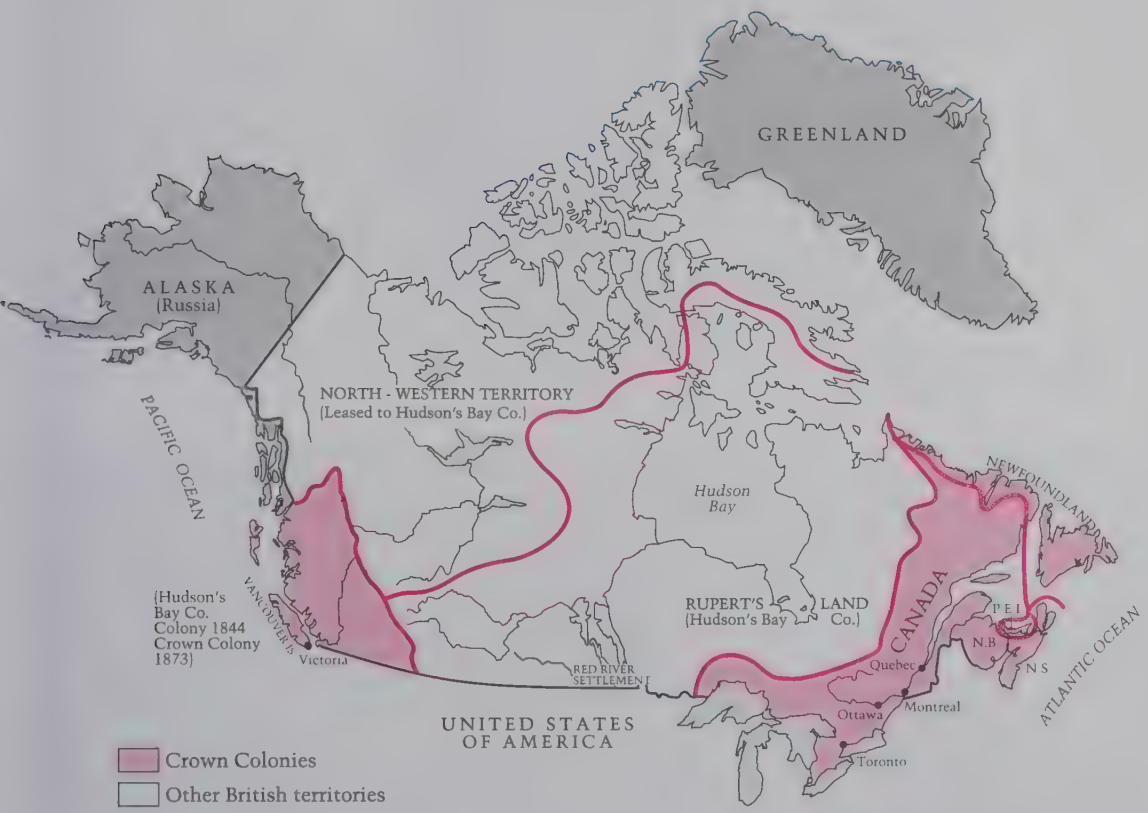
Mary Ann Shadd's family came from the United States to live in Chatham, Ontario, in the 1830s. She helped to start schools for Black children in Ontario. Education was very important to the people who ran away from slavery in the United States to freedom in Canada. As slaves, they did not receive any education, but they wanted to make sure that their children went to school.

Although they were free in Canada, they did not always feel welcome. For example, many people did not want Black children in the same schools as white Canadian children. Therefore, Black Canadians decided to start their own schools, where their children would feel comfortable and could get a good education.

Mary Ann Shadd was a teacher and principal in the school for Black children in Windsor, Ontario. In 1853, she and her brother took over the publication of *The Provincial Freeman*, the first Black newspaper in Canada. She was an activist; she wrote about the rights of women, and she wrote against slavery in the United States. Eventually, Mary Ann Shadd became a lawyer. She showed that a Black person, and a woman, could become an educated person with a political voice.

CHAPTER TWO

Canada Becomes a Country



British North America in 1859

This chapter is about what life was like in the British North American colonies before the people decided to come together into one country. It tells why and how the people made the decision to unite and create the country called Canada.

When did Canada become a country?

On July 1, 1867, Canada became a country. It was not easy for the regions to **unite** into one country. People who lived and worked in the very different regions of Canada had to share the same government. Each group had to think hard about the **advantages** and the **disadvantages** of uniting. This chapter is about why and how people made the decision to come together. 1

What was Canada like before it became a country?

When the Europeans came to North America, they **claimed** large areas of land for their own governments. For example, people who came from England claimed land for the King of England; French people claimed land for the King of France. These areas of land became **colonies** that belonged to those European countries. 2

When European countries went to war, their colonies became involved. This is what happened during the Seven Years' War (1756-63). The British defeated the French forces at the Battle of the Plains of 3

This is the inside of Fort Garry in the mid-nineteenth century. What is the significance of the flag?

This is what a Hudson's Bay store looked like in the 1840s. It was in present-day Manitoba.

Abraham, outside Québec. When the war ended, the British kept the French colony.

Before Canada became a country, this part of North America was called British North America. There were eight British colonies. Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland were Britain's Atlantic colonies; Canada East and Canada West were Central colonies; the Pacific colonies were British Columbia and Vancouver Island. 4

Each colony had its own strong **economic** ties with Britain. Each colony sold its natural resources to Britain. In return, each colony bought **manufactured products** from Britain. For example, New Brunswick sold its lumber to Britain; Canada East sold its grain; and Newfoundland sold its fish. In return, Britain sold cloth, iron machinery, dishes, and other products that people could not make in the colonies. 5

The colonies were **dependent** on Britain. The British government was the government of the colonies. Britain was Canada's "mother country." 6

Queen Victoria, the British monarch at the time of Confederation.

QUESTIONS

a. What were the economic advantages to Britain in owning colonies?
b. What were the advantages to the colonies in having Britain as a "mother country"?

Who lived in the British North American colonies?

Most of the European settlers were from Britain; they spoke English and most of them belonged to the **Protestant Christian** churches. Most people who lived in Canada East (now Quebec) were French-speakers. There were also some French people in the other colonies. Most of the French-speakers belonged to the **Roman Catholic Christian** church. First Nations people were also in all the colonies. 7

Because Britain owned all of British North America, the British government chose someone to **represent** it in the colonies. This person was the **Governor**. The laws and the courts in the colonies followed the laws and the courts in Britain. 8

How did the colonists live?

Most **colonists** made their living from the natural resources on the land or in the sea. Depending on which colony they lived in, they were farmers, lumberjacks, fishermen, sailors, craftsmen, merchants, hunters, or trappers. These colonists' lives were very difficult. Most work was done by hand because very little machinery was available. The colonists had to do many things for themselves. Services, such as doctors, tinsmiths, and dentists, were available only in the towns. These were sometimes very far away. 9

Settlers had to be **resourceful**, **thrifty**, and **courageous**; they had to **co-operate** with one another. 10

> "A settler's wife should be hard-working, ingenious and cheerful, not too proud to do whatever needs to be done in her household and willing to learn from settlers who have lived longer in the community and have more experience of pioneer life.
>
> "She must learn how to make sugar (from maple syrup), candles and soap, and how to bake huge loaves of bread, either in a bake-kettle, or, if she is lucky, in a stone or clay oven. She must know how to produce the yeast that will make her bread rise, how to salt meat and fish (to preserve them), and how to spin and dye yarn. Some of the yarn she must knit into stockings, mittens and comforters, and some must be made into cloth and used to make clothing for her children, her husband and herself.
>
> "The management of poultry, and of milk cattle and their calves, must not be omitted from this list."
>
> *Catherine Parr Traill*

In 1859, towns and cities were still small, and railroads were new. But as more settlers arrived, the number of **skilled** people in the colonies increased. Many settlers sold their products and services in towns: for example, a shoemaker had to set up shop in a town to make a living. The small populations of the towns were growing. 11

Life was very different from one colony to the next. The colonies were far from one another, with water, mountains, and prairie between them. Some colonies had many First Nations people, while others had few. Some had large French-speaking populations, while others had 12

small ones. Some were mainly Protestant, others mainly Roman Catholic. Some colonies had growing populations, but most had very small ones. **Despite** all their differences in work, religion, language, and lifestyle, some colonists asked themselves "Could we have a better life if we united?" This was the idea of **Confederation**.

QUESTIONS

a. In paragraph 9, you read the word "craftsmen." Today, many people doing this kind of work are women. What word(s) do we use now to describe this kind of person? Find other words in the chapter that we could change to include women.
b. Read the excerpt by Catherine Parr Traill. How is a woman's life different now?

Why did some colonists like the idea of Confederation?

Many colonies had serious **political** problems in the 1860s. French-speaking **politicians** from Canada East and English-speaking politicians from Canada West did not get along. They **disagreed** over religion, language, schools, and land. These politicians became very angry with one another. They would not make laws together. This meant that their government did not work. These two colonies wanted to find a new way of making government work. They thought that maybe Confederation was the answer. 13

John A. Macdonald was one of the men who believed Confederation was the answer.

There were economic problems too. For example, after 1854, the 14
colonies had a **free trade agreement** with the United States for some products. They did not have to pay taxes on these American products, and the colonies did not have to pay taxes to the American government when they sold their products in the United States. But the United States planned to end this agreement. The colonists were afraid that they would have to pay high new taxes to the United States to sell their goods there. Farmers and businesspeople in the colonies were worried that they would lose business if they could not sell to Americans. They would make less money and people in the colonies would be poor. These colonists thought that Confederation might be the answer to their worries: the colonies could sell their products to one another when the Americans ended the free trade agreement in 1866.

Another problem was the increasing cost of **defence.** The United 15
States had a very large army and navy. The colonies were afraid that the United States would use its powerful army to attack them. Some Americans believed that all of North America, including the British colonies, should be American. Some colonists were worried; they thought that Confederation was the answer to the problem of **defending** themselves against the Americans. If all the colonies joined together, they could stop the U.S. army from attacking.

The colonies felt differently about the idea of sharing one govern- 16
ment. Some colonies felt that the advantages outweighed the disadvantages. For example, some colonists felt that the cost of one government would be less than the cost of one government for each colony. They also thought that one strong government would be able to make better trade agreements with the United States.

On the other hand, some colonists felt that the disadvantages out- 17
weighed the advantages. They thought that Confederation would take control away from their colony's own government; they wanted to keep their power. They also did not think **union** would improve economic and trade conditions.

The British government was also worried about defending the colo- 18
nies. Britain did not want a war with the United States. A war would cost a lot of money and a lot of lives. Britain wanted the colonies to pay for their own defence. Britain thought that a union of the colonies would be a good idea. It would be cheaper if they worked together to defend one country. Britain hoped that one day this new country would be able to pay for its own defence. Britain thought that Confederation might make the colonies more independent and eventually the British government would save money.

QUESTIONS

a. i. What problems did businesspeople and farmers have in the colonies?

ii. How did some businesspeople and farmers in the colonies think Confederation would solve their problems?

Canada Day celebrations in Ottawa.

b. i. Why did some of the colonists worry about the size of the American army?
   ii. How did these colonists think Confederation would solve these defence problems?
c. i. Why did the British government worry about the American army?
   ii. How did the British government think Confederation would solve its problem?

What was the plan for Confederation?

After a lot of argument and discussion, the leaders of Canada West, Canada East, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia agreed on a way to unite their colonies into one country. British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland joined later. 19

In 1867, the British government agreed to the plan for Confederation. On Monday, July 1, 1867, the colonies became the **Dominion** of Canada. This day became one of Canada's most important holidays: we celebrate Canada Day on July 1 every year. 20

Fathers of Confederation

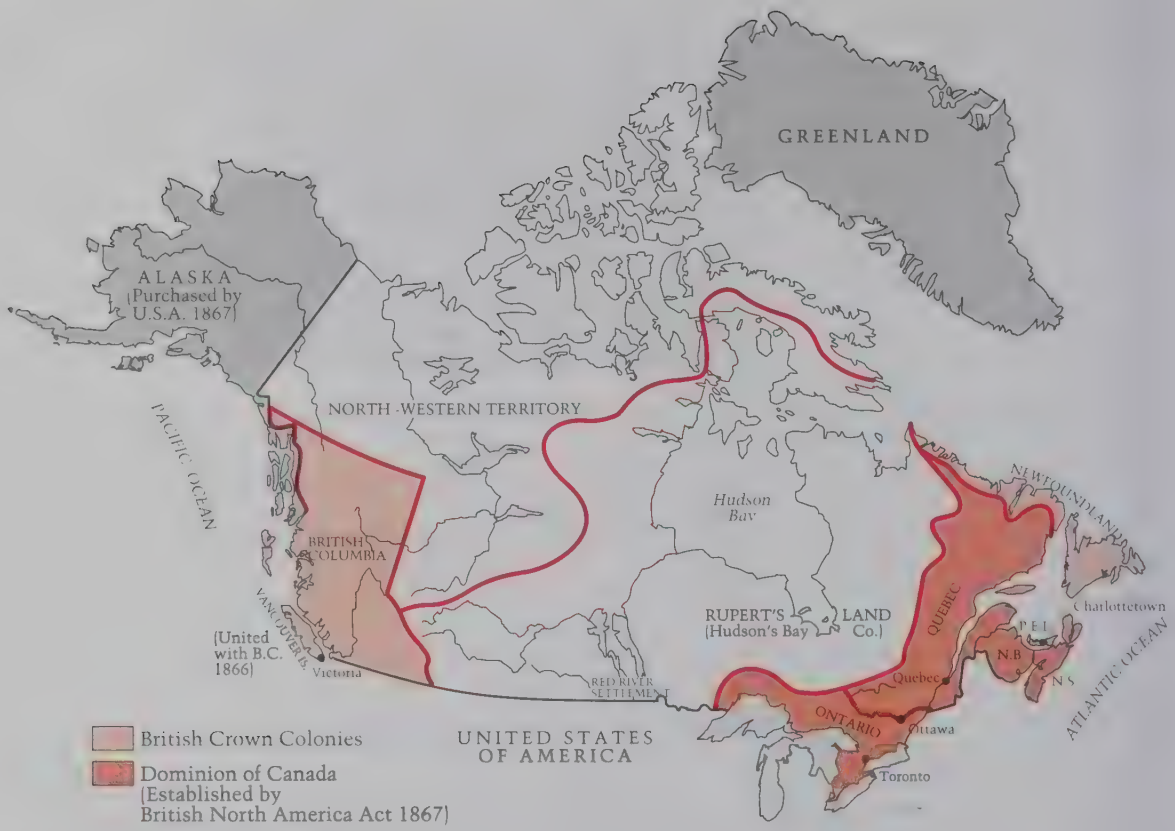


Figure 2.1 Canada after Confederation in 1867

In the new Dominion of Canada, the colonies became provinces. 21
Canada West became the province of Ontario; Canada East became the province of Quebec. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia also became provinces. The government had two levels: federal and provincial. Each level had the right to make laws. The provinces made laws for **local matters**: for example, where to build roads, and how much to spend on education. The new federal government made laws about matters that **affected** all provinces: for example, trade and defence.

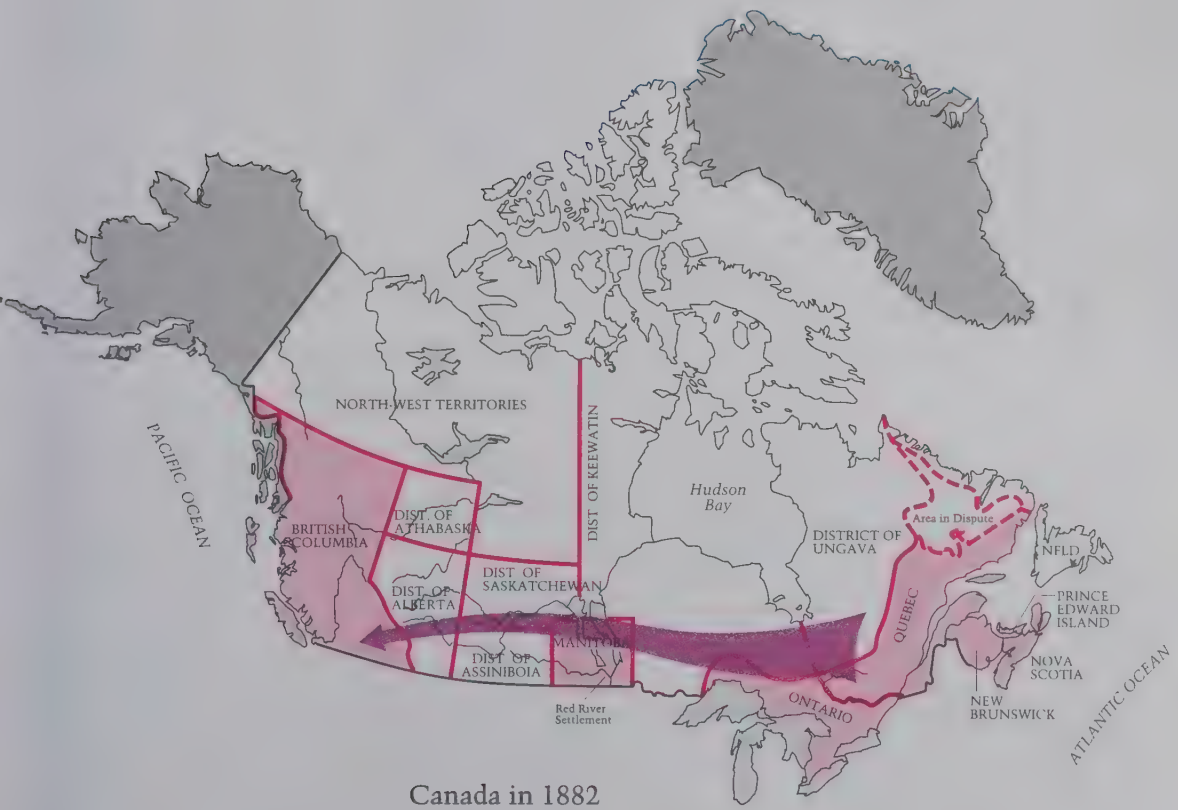
The new country, Canada, now had two tasks: first, it had to keep 22
its own people happy with the plan of Confederation; second, it had to get the other colonies, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, and British Columbia to join.

QUESTIONS

a. What do we celebrate on Canada Day?
b. Do you know of other countries that celebrate becoming a nation?

CHAPTER THREE

Expansion of the Country: 1867-1885



Canada in 1882

After Confederation, the new country wanted to grow. Canadians saw ***expansion*** *as one way of making* ***progress****, or making things better for Canada. What areas do you think Canada wanted to include in the new country?*

"Progress" is not always the same for everybody. One group's way of making progress may mean taking away something that another group thinks is important. This may lead to disagreement and ***conflict*** *between groups of people. Read this chapter to find out what conflicts happened when Canada expanded.*

Why did Canada want to expand after Confederation?

Joseph Howe led Nova Scotians who opposed Confederation.

Canada became a new, small country in 1867. But the new Canadian government wanted to unite all parts of British North America to stop the United States from **taking over** land in the West. Britain supported Canada's plan to **expand** by taking other areas of British North America into Confederation. But before Canada could add new land, it had to make sure the people already in Confederation were satisfied. 1

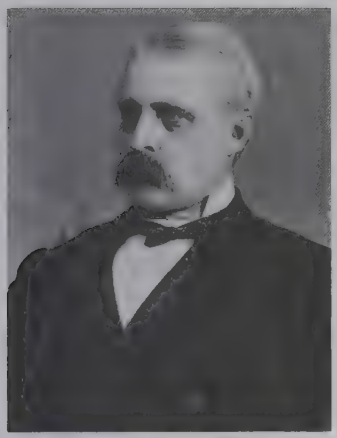
The first problem was a conflict between the new Canadian Confederation and the province of Nova Scotia. Many Nova Scotians strongly disagreed with Confederation. Their leader was Joseph Howe. These Nova Scotians felt that there were only disadvantages to joining Confederation. They were angry that Charles Tupper and the Nova Scotia government had decided to join Confederation without asking them first. 2

Howe asked Britain to allow Nova Scotia to get out of Confederation. Britain said "No." Many Nova Scotians who were unhappy with the union wanted to join the United States, instead. But Howe was loyal to Britain. Finally, the conflict was solved when Howe made a deal with Prime Minister Macdonald and the Canadian government for higher grants of money for his province. The people of Nova Scotia slowly accepted a place as a province of Canada. 3

Where did Canada want to expand?

Canada wanted to expand west into the area called Rupert's Land. By 1867, there were 70 000 people in Rupert's Land; about 60 000 of them were First Nations peoples. The others were British colonists, people who worked for the Hudson's Bay Company, and the **Métis**. Some Métis were the **descendants** of parents who were either British or French and First Nations. There were differences in religion and language between the English and French Métis, but they had many things in common: first, they usually made their living from trading, farming, and hunting buffalo; second, they were of First Nations ancestry; and third, Rupert's Land was their homeland. 4

The Canadian government bought Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company. On December 1, 1870, Rupert's Land became part of 5



William McDougall, a Father of Confederation and the first lieutenant-governor of the North-West Territories.

Canada's North-West Territories. William McDougall became the new Canadian lieutenant-governor of the North-West Territories. The Canadian government's plan to expand seemed to be going smoothly.

Did the expansion cause any conflict?

The **transfer** of the land did not go as smoothly as the politicians expected. Not everyone was happy with the idea of adding Rupert's Land to Canada. The Métis in Rupert's Land were not happy because the Canadian government did not ask them how they felt. 6

The Métis thought of Rupert's Land as their homeland. They wanted to keep their **way of life**. They were afraid that the arrival of immigrants would change their way of life. The French Roman Catholic Métis were also worried that English Protestant settlers would come from Ontario. They felt that these settlers would **threaten** their language, religion, and way of life. They wanted to protect their culture. 7

A French Métis named Louis Riel organized the Métis in Red River and formed a government. The Métis government planned to **make a deal** with the Canadian government. The Métis had a list of **demands**; for example, they wanted the Canadian government to **guarantee** that the French Métis would be able to keep their language and their religion. All Métis wanted Canada to agree that the Métis owned their land and farms. If the new Canadian government did not agree with the Métis demands, Riel and the Métis would not join Confederation. They would fight the Canadian government. 8

Governor McDougall ordered other citizens of the North-West Territories to support him against Riel. Some Canadian settlers attacked the Métis, but they **were captured**. Later, one of these settlers, Thomas 9

Louis Riel (centre) with his councillors, 1869-70.

Scott, **was executed** by the Métis. The people in Ontario were upset. They wanted to charge Riel with Scott's murder. But the people in Red River wanted Riel to lead them. They wanted Riel to make a deal with the government.

QUESTIONS

a. Who were the Métis?
b. Why were the Métis worried about Rupert's Land being added to Canada?
c. What did the Métis value? Why did they feel threatened by Confederation?

What was the solution to this conflict?

In 1870, Riel and other Métis leaders made a deal with Canadian leaders. In July of 1870, the Manitoba Act created a new province, giving Red River its own **bilingual** government. People could use either French or English in government and in the courts. The Canadian government would also give money to support the Roman Catholic and Protestant schools. The Métis were to get half a million **hectares** of land to live on and farm. 10

Louis Riel helped to protect the Métis way of life and to create the province of Manitoba. He was a **hero** among the Métis, and the people of Manitoba elected Riel to **represent** them in the Canadian Parliament. But people in Ontario would not let Riel represent the Manitobans; they still wanted him to be tried and executed for ordering Thomas Scott's death. To most Canadians, Riel was not a hero; he was a **traitor** who acted against the government. Riel **fled** to the United States to protect himself. 11

QUESTIONS

a. What was the solution to the Métis conflict with the Canadian government?
b. A solution to a problem or conflict is successful when it satisfies most of the wants of all groups of people involved. Was this solution successful?
c. What is a hero? What is a traitor? Do you think Riel was a hero or a traitor? Give reasons for your answer.

Where did the Canadian government want to expand next?

Next, Canada wanted British Columbia to join Confederation. It would give Canada a **port** on the Pacific Ocean. This was important because the United States already owned the land to the north and south of 12

British Columbia. Some people in British Columbia supported the idea, because they wanted more control over their government. Britain supported the idea, because British Columbia was a poor colony that owed a lot of money. Britain wanted British Columbia to join Canada; it did not want to pay British Columbia's bills anymore.

Canada agreed to pay the money that British Columbia owed and 13
promised to build a railway from Nova Scotia to British Columbia. The railway would bring products and settlers to the new province. In July 1871, British Columbia joined Confederation.

QUESTIONS

a. What were the advantages and disadvantages to British Columbia of joining Confederation?
b. What were the advantages and disadvantages to Canada of including British Columbia in the Confederation?
c. What were the advantages to Britian?
d. Use an atlas to find out how long the railway would be between Nova Scotia and British Columbia.

Canada now owned most of the land west of Ontario. But Canada 14
still wanted Prince Edward Island to join Confederation. Prince Edward Island said "No" to Confederation in 1867 and again in 1869. However, in 1873, the people of Prince Edward Island said "Yes." Like the

By July 1, 1877, seven provinces were part of Confederation. Can you identify them from the drawing shown here?

people in British Columbia, they changed their minds because of a railway. The government of Prince Edward Island wanted to build a railway across the island; but the colony could not pay the costs. Britain refused to help, so Prince Edward Island turned to Canada. Canada agreed to pay the money that Prince Edward Island needed, but only if Prince Edward Island agreed to join Confederation. The Islanders thought that this was a good deal. In 1873, Prince Edward Island became part of Canada.

QUESTIONS

a. What were the advantages and disadvantages to Prince Edward Island of joining Canada?
b. What were the disadvantages and disadvantages to Canada of including Prince Edward Island in Confederation?

How did the First Nations of the West feel about Confederation?

The Canadian government bought Rupert's Land to provide more land for settlers. The Métis were angry and worried by this change; they were not the only ones. Sixty-thousand First Nations peoples already lived in this area. Now the government wanted to fill their ancestral land with farmers from central and eastern Canada and Britain. 15

The First Nations in this part of Canada hunted buffalo for food, clothing, and shelter. Their cultures developed from this way of life. They travelled freely on the land. If European settlers took land for farms, there would be less land for the buffalo and the people who 16

These Blackfoot families would soon be forced to leave their land.

depended on them. This was a major conflict between two groups of people who had very different ways of life — the hunters and the farmers.

The government decided to make **treaties**, or agreements, with the people. They asked them to give up their hunting territories. In return, the government would let them keep some areas of land. These areas were called **reserves**. To keep the First Nations on the reserves, the government made it illegal for them to hunt anywhere else. The Canadian government promised to give them $12 per person plus $5 every year and 2.6 km² of land for each family; in return they had to promise to be loyal to the British Queen, stay on the reserve, and obey Canadian laws. 17

Some First Nations leaders did not want to sign the treaties and live on the reserves. They thought that they were giving away too much for too little. The reserves were often small. There were few animals for the people to hunt. The Canadian government did this on purpose. They wanted the Native groups to give up their hunting way of life and learn how to farm. 18

Crowfoot, the leading chief of the Blackfoot, advised his people to accept the treaty.

QUESTIONS

a. What did the First Nations people value?
b. Do you think they would find farming a suitable way to live? Give reasons for your opinion.
c. If you were a First Nations elder, would you advise your people to accept or not accept the treaties with the Canadian government?

How was the conflict resolved?

In the end, almost all First Nations groups signed the treaties and agreed to live on reserves because they had no choice. Settlers already had some of the land. They knew that many more settlers would come, and they were too powerful for the First Nations to fight. The buffalo herds continued to get smaller. Without buffalo to hunt, they would have to learn to farm or they would starve. The government promised to teach them. The First Nations hoped that by signing the treaties, they would be able to keep some of their own way of life and some control over their future. They wanted to stop European settlers from taking over all their land. They also hoped that by signing the treaties, they would get schools and education for their children to learn more about the European ways. The government promised to give these things. 19

Today, the North-West Mounted Police are known as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

The North-West Mounted Police **was established** in 1873 to help settle the First Nations people on the reserves, and to keep law and order among the new settlers in the West. Some settlers came from other Canadian provinces and the United States. Others, like the Mennonites and Icelanders, came from Europe. 20

Figure 3.1 Native Treaties to 1877

Piapot, Cree Chief in 1895.

"Great Father,—I shake hands with you, and bid you welcome. We heard our lands were sold and we did not like it; we don't want to sell our lands; it is our property, and no one has a right to sell them."

Sweet Grass, Cree Chief, 1876

"In order to become sole masters of our land they relegated us to small reservations [reserves] as big as my hand and made us long promises, as long as my arm; but the next year the promises were shorter and got shorter every year until now they are the length of my finger, and they keep only half of that."

Piapot, Cree Chief, 1895

"Now I know the Government is going to break the Treaty because when it was signed it was understood that it would last as long as the grass grew, the winds blew, the rivers ran, and men walked on two legs, and now they have sent us an Agent who has only one leg."

Piapot, Cree Chief, 1895

QUESTIONS

a. A solution is successful when people on both sides feel that it is fair. Was the solution to the conflict between European settlers and First Nations successful?

Sweet Grass, head chief of the Cree.

b. Read the words of the Cree leaders, Sweet Grass and Piapot. What did they think of the Canadian government's promises?
c. The Canadian government made many promises to the First Nations people. Make a list of these promises.

How did the government plan to make Canada stronger?

The Canadian government wanted to make Canada a strong and rich country. To do this, Canada had to attract more people to settle the land. But there were problems. John A. Macdonald lost his job as Prime Minister in 1874 and Alexander Mackenzie became the new Prime Minister. He ran into many problems. 21

The **economy** in both Europe and North America was weak. People did not have money; few people wanted to move to Canada. It was hard for Canadian producers to compete with Americans. As a result, the Canadian government did not have the money to build the railway across Canada to British Columbia as it had promised. Building the railway was very expensive. Without a railway, people would not settle the West. Times were hard. People blamed Mackenzie and his government. 22

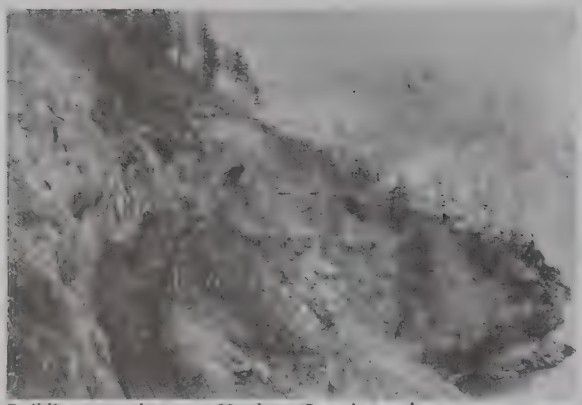
John A. Macdonald thought of a plan to make the Canadian economy stronger. He wanted to be prime minister again by winning the next **election.** He promised many things. One was to tax American-made products that came into Canada. Another promise was to find a company that would build a great railway that would stretch to British Columbia. Finally, he promised to **attract** more immigrants to settle Canada's western lands. These immigrants would buy Canadian-made products and **strengthen** the economy. Macdonald called these promises his **National Policy**. The Canadian people liked what they heard. They voted for Macdonald as Prime Minister again in 1878. 23

QUESTIONS

a. What were the three promises of Macdonald's National Policy?
b. Does Macdonald's plan make sense to you?

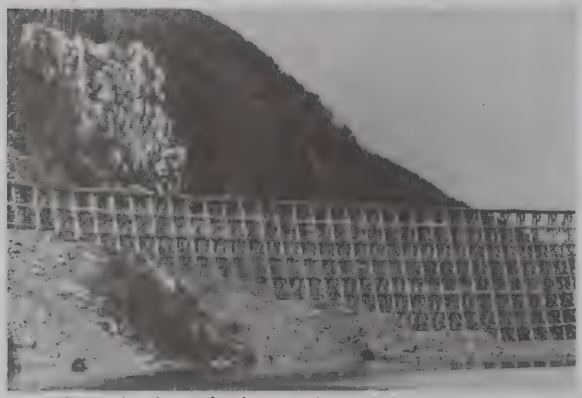
Did the government keep its promises?

The government kept its promise to tax American-made products coming into Canada. This tax is called a **tariff.** People wanted this tariff because American businesses often sold their extra products in Canada at very low prices just to get rid of them. At the same time, the United States put very high taxes on Canadian-made products so that Canadian businesses could not sell to Americans. Canadians thought this was very unfair. Tariffs would raise the price of American-made products that **were sold** in Canada. This would protect Canadian 24



Building a trestle across Northern Ontario muskeg.

Building the railway through the Fraser Canyon.



A trestle on the shore of Lake Superior.

Building a trestle in the Fraser Canyon.

The geography of the country made building the CPR very difficult. Imagine how hard it would be to tunnel through the rock of mountains or to lay railway track across frozen ground!

farmers, companies, and workers. Canadians would buy Canadian-made products because they would be cheaper. Businesses would invest their money to build new factories and hire more workers. So Macdonald placed a tariff on American products, and Canadians bought more Canadian-made products.

What about the railway? Promising to build a railway was easy; 25
building it was difficult. It took Macdonald two years to find a company to build the railway. Finally, in 1880, a group of businessmen agreed to do the job. These people formed the **Canadian Pacific Railway Company**, or the **CPR**, and signed a deal with the Canadian government.

The CPR agreed to build the railway and promised to finish it by 26
1891. In return, the government gave the CPR a lot of money and land. The CPR did not even have to pay taxes on the land! This was very **advantageous** to the CPR. Another advantage was that no other railway company **would be allowed** to build southward for 20 years. Only the CPR **would be allowed** to connect with the American railways. The government also promised to finish building some sections of the railway itself. These promises would make the CPR a lot of money!

Building the railway was very difficult. Railway track had to **be laid** 27
across the Canadian Shield and the Rocky Mountains. Workers had

A spike made of gold was used in this ceremony to mark the end of the CPR. It was replaced later with a steel spike.

The CPR made it easier for farm workers to get to the West to help with the grain harvest.

to **be brought** to the West. The workers came from eastern Canada, the United States, and China. Everyone worked very hard and the railway **was built** quickly. It opened in 1885 — six years early! Macdonald's second promise **was kept**.

What about the National Policy's third promise? Where were all 28
the people who **would be attracted** to Canada? Many people thought that adding all the land in the West would make Canada a rich and **prosperous** country like the United States. But **prosperity** did not come quickly or easily. In 1872, Canada offered 160 acres [64.8 ha] of free land in the West to families that wanted to settle there. Families had to live on the land for three years, then it was theirs. However, few people came to the Canadian West in the 1870s and 1880s. Most immigrants still went to the United States.

Farm life in Canada was very hard. The winters were long and cold. 29
The growing season was short. Farmers in the Canadian West had to send their products a long way to sell them. The cost of sending the products on the CPR was very high. Canada would have to wait another 10 years before settlers would come to the West in large numbers. The third promise of Macdonald's National Policy was still only a promise.

QUESTIONS

a. What did Macdonald promise to the CPR? Why did the Canadian government give so much to this company?
b. Why was Macdonald's third promise not kept?
c. If you were living in Canada at that time, would you agree with Macdonald's National Policy? Would you vote for Macdonald again? Why or why not?

What had Canada accomplished?

First of all, the government had treaties with the First Nations peo- 30
ples and made a deal with the Métis. Second, people were buying Canadian-made products, and companies were building new factories to make these products. Third, and perhaps most important, there was a railway to the Pacific. Canada hoped that many immigrants would now come to settle and farm the land in the West to make the country prosperous.

Canada became the second-largest country in the world. The govern- 31
ment made promises to many different groups of people to expand Canada. They made promises to Nova Scotia, the Hudson's Bay Company, the Métis, the British Columbia government, the First Nations people, the businesspeople, workers, and farmers, and the CPR. Would the government be able to keep all these promises? Would keeping the third promise of the National Policy be free of conflict?

QUESTION

a. Who gained and who lost with the expansion of Canada?

CASE STUDY

Mennonites and Chinese in the West

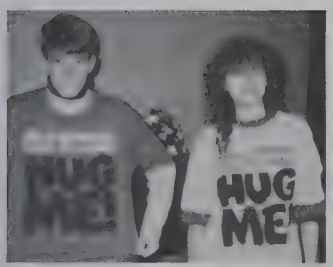
The National Policy **was intended** to attract new immigrants to the West to settle the land. Some immigrants were welcome, others were not. One of the groups that the Canadian government welcomed was the Mennonites. One of the groups that was not welcome was the Chinese. Read these case studies to find out why one group was welcome, and the other was not.

The first Mennonites arrived in Winnipeg in July 1874.

The Mennonites

The Mennonites are a small Protestant group. They believe in family values and the importance of community. Some Mennonite groups believe in plain dress and reject the ways of modern society. Other groups are very actively involved in efforts to bring peace and justice to the world through development, mutual aid, and peace-making mediation efforts.

These ideas made them different from most people in the countries where they lived. People who did not like the Mennonite ideas and way of life **discriminated against** them. Therefore, many Mennonites wanted to find other places to live. One of the places they found was Canada.



As you can see by their T-shirts, these Mennonite teens have the same values as their ancestors.

In 1870, Canada learned that Mennonite farmers in Russia wanted to leave. The government believed that the **experienced** Mennonite farmers would make perfect settlers for the Canadian West. The Canadian government promised the Mennonites that they would have their own land and religious schools if they came to Canada. The Canadian government also promised that Mennonites would never have to join the Canadian army. In addition, the Canadian government loaned them $100 000 to help them settle in the West. By 1880, there were 6931 Mennonites in Manitoba. By 1892, the government loan **was repaid**.

QUESTIONS

a. What are some of the values of the Mennonites?
b. Which of these values do you think the Canadian government liked?
c. Which of these values do you think the government did not like?
d. Why did the Canadian government give so much to the Mennonites?

Chinese railway workers in British Columbia, 1867-85.

The Chinese

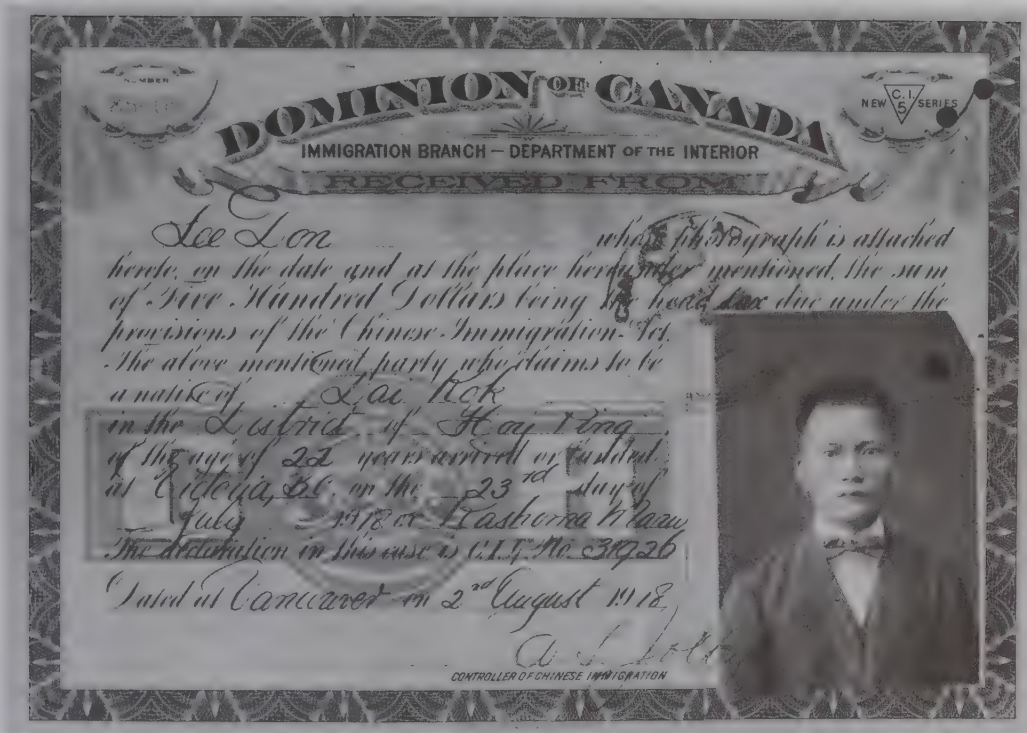
When the Canadian government and the CPR started to build the railway in British Columbia, they needed more workers. Many Chinese men were willing to come to North America to work. They worked harder for lower pay than other workers in Canada and the United States because the pay in China was very low, and **living conditions** were very poor for most people.

The Chinese **were not treated** well in Canada. For example, the CPR paid Chinese workers $1 a day; they paid other workers $1.50–$1.75 a day. This was **discrimination**. Other workers were angry with the Chinese workers for accepting less money. They said this kept all workers' wages low.

Many Canadians had very prejudiced ideas about people who were not from Europe. In British Columbia, some people thought the Chinese were criminals. Other British Columbians, like Chief Justice Matthew Begbie, saw that the Chinese had a different culture and different values.

> Their religion, notions of honour and rank, mode of thought, dress, amusement, sense of beauty are not to our taste. Their language appears to us ridiculous. Yet they as evidently despise all our attainments and ways and they come here and beat us on our own ground in supplying our own wants. They are inferior in weight and size of muscle and yet they work more steadily and with better success on the average than white men.
>
> *Chief Justice Matthew Begbie*

In 1885, after the railway **was finished**, the government decided that the Chinese **were** no longer **needed**. Macdonald brought in a new tax. Every Chinese person coming into Canada would have to pay $50, starting in 1886.


DOMINION OF CANADA
IMMIGRATION BRANCH — DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NEW SERIES
RECEIVED FROM
Lee Don
CONTROLLER OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION

Head tax certificate for Lee Don in 1918.

This was called the "head tax." It kept many Chinese immigrants from coming into Canada; it also stopped Chinese men from bringing their wives and children to Canada. The head tax was very unfair. Only people from China and Japan had to pay the head tax to move to Canada. In 1904, Canada raised the head tax to $500. This is worth $20,000 Canadian today!

QUESTIONS

a. Why did Chinese workers come to Canada?
b. Why did the CPR pay Chinese workers lower wages than other workers?
c. Why did the Canadian government discriminate against the Chinese?

CANADIANS WHO MAKE A DIFFERENCE

Suk Yin Lee

Suk Yin Lee has been the lead singer for the band Bob's Your Uncle for six years. Born in Lynn Valley, British Columbia, Suk Yin quit school at the age of 16 and moved to Vancouver. Although her parents were not happy with her decision to leave school, they did support her career choice of becoming a musician and artist.

Suk Yin Lee and Bob's Your Uncle.

Suk Yin has found that there is little prejudice against a Chinese-Canadian woman lead singer. In fact, she notices that many more Asian women are coming to see Bob's Your Uncle perform. To her, the people she works with, and the people who come to hear the band's music, her Chinese ethnicity is "no big deal." She firmly believes that a person should be strong — "Don't let other people get you down."

CHAPTER FOUR

Settlement of the West

Canada in 1905

Surveyors in 1887 near present-day Brandon, Manitoba.

As you have learned, there were people living in the West long before the expansion of Canada. In this chapter you will learn how the settlement of the West affected the lives of these people.

QUESTION

a. Look at the pictures on pp. 60 and 61. What do you think occurred as more settlers arrived to settle the West?

What were the aims of Macdonald's National Policy?

The aim of Macdonald's National Policy was economic progress. The government wanted to give Canadians more opportunity to make money and improve their way of life. Macdonald hoped that Canada would be more productive and become more prosperous. However, what was progress for some people was not progress for others. Some Canadians would **benefit** from the National Policy; others would not. This chapter is about some of the conflicts that were caused by the National Policy among those who would benefit and those who would not. 1

Who would benefit from the National Policy?

The CPR would benefit from the National Policy in several ways. The government promised that no other trans-continental railway could be built south of the CPR for 20 years. This meant that all settlers who wanted to go to Manitoba, the North-West Territories, or British Columbia would have to travel on the CPR. The CPR would also make money **transporting** farming equipment and supplies to the Prairies. And finally, western farmers would have to use the CPR to transport their products to markets in other provinces and to ships that would carry them to Europe and Asia. 2

Manufacturers in Central and Eastern Canada would benefit from the promises of the National Policy. Because the National Policy increased tariffs on American-made products, settlers would not be able to afford American-made equipment. They would have to buy all their farming equipment and supplies from the Canadian manufacturers who were mostly **located** in Central and Eastern Canada. More workers would be hired by factories to produce these goods. 3

Who would not benefit from the National Policy?

The First Nations people and the Métis did not support the National Policy. They did not want the railway. They were worried that it would bring more settlers, which would threaten their way of life. 4

Other Canadians believed that their lives would not be improved by the National Policy. Some Canadians in the East felt that there was 5

no need to settle the West quickly. The railway was not important to them, and they were worried. Building the railway quickly would be very expensive for a young country like Canada. Taxes would be high. Instead, they wanted to build the railway slowly in stages.

Why were the First Nations people angry?

The government wanted to increase the number of settlers to farm 6
the land in the West. For Macdonald's government, this was progress; but life did not improve for First Nations groups. Instead, increasing numbers of settlers to the West made their lives much worse. One cause of conflict between the First Nations people and the new European settlers was the European idea that people could own land. The First Nations people did not understand why settlers wanted to own land; they did not believe that anyone had the right to own land.

Table 4.1 Population of the West, 1885

	Whites	Métis	Natives	Total
District of Assiniboia	16 574	1 017	4 492	22 083
District of Saskatchewan (now Southern Saskatchewan)	4 486	–	6 260	10 746
District of Alberta	4 878	1 237	9 418	15 533
Total	25 938	2 254	20 170	48 362

Source: P.B. Waite p. 149

Big Bear (Mistahimaskwa), a chief of the Cree nation, fought to keep the Cree culture and way of life.

The different ways of life of the two groups led to another conflict. 7
For many centuries the First Nations people on the Prairies **had depended** on following and hunting the buffalo. Before the building of the railway and the European settlement of the West, there **had been** about 20 million buffalo on the Prairies. By the 1880s, there were too few buffalo left to feed and clothe the First Nations people who lived on this land. Settlers and railway workers **had killed** the buffalo because these animals got in the way of farming and railway building. The most important natural resource of the First Nations people on the Prairies **had been destroyed**.

The conflicting values about land led to another problem for the 8
First Nations people. The Treaties that they **had signed** with the Canadian government **had forced** them to give up their traditional hunting lands and to live on reserves. It was very difficult for the First Nations on the Prairies to become farmers. The government gave them farming equipment but did not teach them how to use it. They could not produce enough food on the reserve to feed everyone. As a result of the government's policies, the people were starving. Each year, they needed more help from the government because there were fewer and fewer animals to hunt. The people blamed the government for taking away their traditional way of life. Their dependence on the government made them angry. They wanted more control of their lives.

Prairie Natives hunted buffalo.

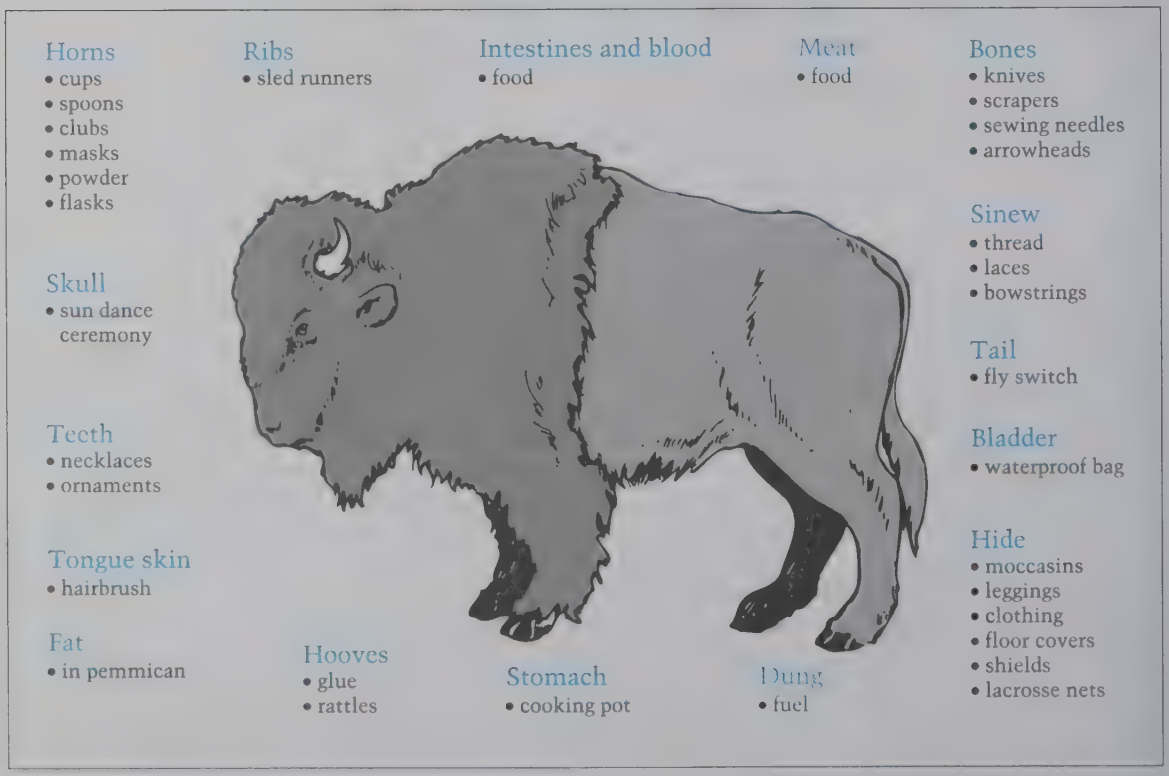


Figure 4.1 How the Buffalo Was Used by Prairie Natives

"Our country is getting ruined of fur-bearing animals, hitherto our sole support, and now we are poor and want help — we want you to pity us. We want cattle, tools, agricultural implements, and assistance in everything when we come to settle — our country is no longer able to support us." *The Cree 1876*

Another source of conflict was money. Macdonald's government was running out of money. It was costing more to build the CPR than it **had planned**. Therefore, in 1884, the government decreased the money it **had promised** to pay to the First Nations. For all these reasons, the First Nations' distrust of the government grew. 9

> "They made us promises, more than I can remember, but they never kept but one. They promised to take our land and they took it."
>
> *Anonymous*

QUESTION

a. Why were the First Nations people upset? Give two reasons and two examples in your answer.

Why were the Métis angry?

Many of the Métis **had left** Manitoba in the 1870s. They **had followed** the herds of buffalo west until the herds began to disappear. Then the Métis began to settle along the banks of the Saskatchewan River. They worked on long narrow farms along the river. They were upset with the government for three reasons. 10

First of all, the Métis came into conflict with the Canadian government over the **surveyors** who were sent to divide the land for the settlers. These surveyors said that the land had to be surveyed to prove ownership. Sometimes, the surveyors ignored the Métis farms; sometimes, the surveyors took many years to draw the maps for the Métis farmers; sometimes, the surveyors refused to allow the Métis farmers the land they wanted on the river bank. Sometimes, the Métis became frustrated and showed their feelings by ignoring the property lines and settling where they wanted. Many Métis did not read or write, and they did not understand the government's land rules. They were afraid that other people would come to claim land that they felt was theirs. 11

The second problem was that the Métis thought the Northwest was their country, and that they could settle on vacant land. They did not know that the government **had already promised** some of this land to the CPR in exchange for building the railway or that the government **had promised** some of this land to the Hudson's Bay Company when Rupert's Land became the North-West Territories. 12

The third problem was communication with the government. The Métis sent many **petitions** and letters to Macdonald's government in Ottawa. They wanted to have more control over matters that were important to them. The government did not **respond** to their letters. Because of the government's lack of response, the Métis **concluded** that the government thought its promises to the CPR and the Hudson's Bay Company and the National Policy were more important than their lives. Their mistrust of the government grew. 13

QUESTIONS

a. Why were the Métis upset?
b. What promises had the government made to the Hudson's Bay Company and the CPR?
c. Why were the Métis angry about these promises?

Why were the settlers angry?

The settlers in the Northwest were unhappy about three things: land surveys, high prices, and the high cost of using the railway to transport products to and from other parts of Canada. These were the result of the government's National Policy. Like the Métis, the settlers also felt that they did not have enough control over matters that were important to them. 14

It took many years to survey all the land. Like the Métis, the settlers had to wait for the land to be surveyed to prove that they owned it. They could not sell it before it was surveyed. Sometimes, surveyors refused to **recognize** the land claims of the settlers. 15

The settlers were also upset about the high price of goods. Westerners had to buy expensive products from Central Canada or pay high tariffs on goods imported from the United States. This made ploughs, wagons, wood stoves, and other products very expensive. 16

In addition to their high price, the settlers had to pay to transport these products to the West. The CPR charged high **freight rates**, and the settlers thought this was unfair. After all, there was no other way to move goods. 17

Farm equipment like this was expensive because it had to be shipped from Eastern Canada.

In 1884, these settlers sent letters to Macdonald's government and signed petitions, or lists of demands, and sent them to Ottawa. When they received no answer from the government, they also concluded that the government was not interested in listening to their problems. Like the Métis, they thought the government was more interested in keeping the promises of the National Policy than in solving their difficulties. 18

QUESTIONS

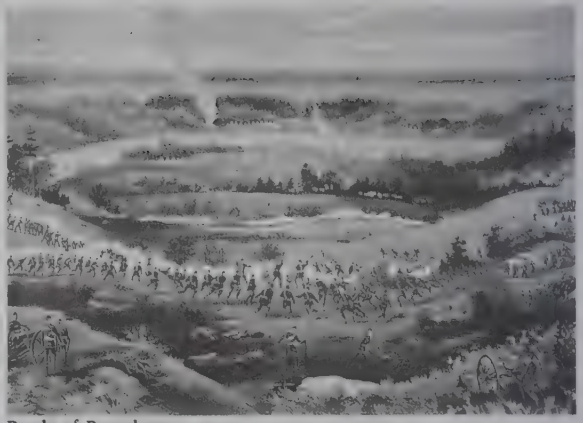
a. Why were the settlers angry with the government?
b. What promises did the government make to the CPR and to businesspeople in Canada?
c. Why were the settlers angry about these promises?

What did the people do about their problems?

In the spring of 1884, the Métis sent Gabriel Dumont to ask Louis Riel to help them. They remembered how he **had negotiated** with the Canadian government in 1870. They hoped that he could help them again. 19

Gabriel Dumont, buffalo hunter and sharpshooter, became a military leader of the Métis.

Battle of Duck Lake



Battle of Batoche

Battle of Cut Knife Hill

Battle of Fish Creek

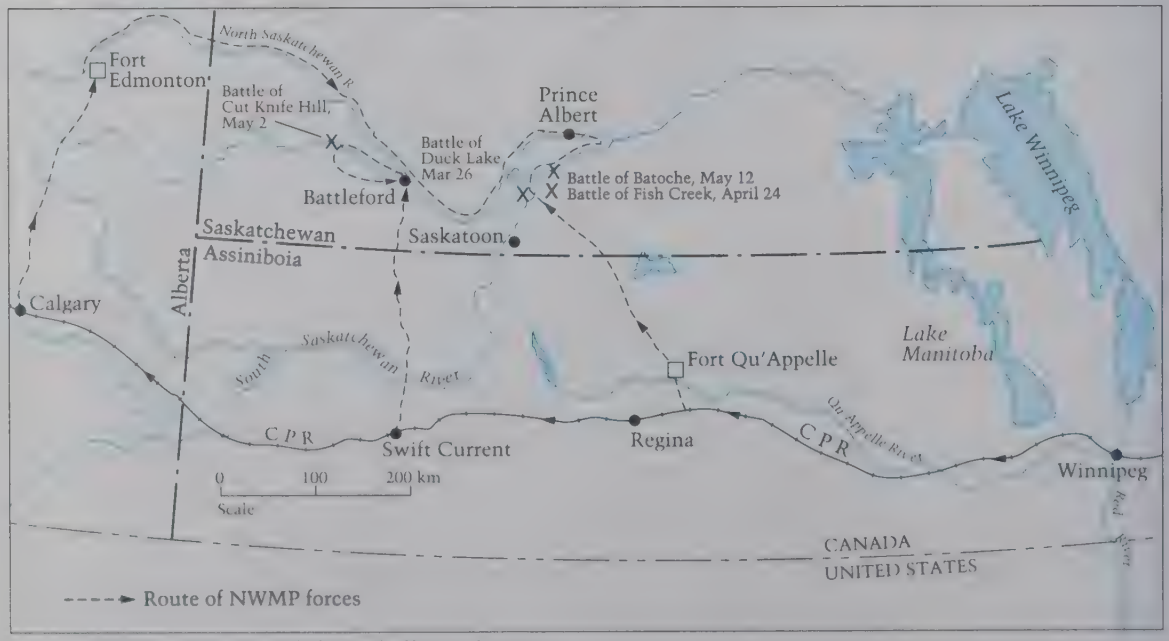
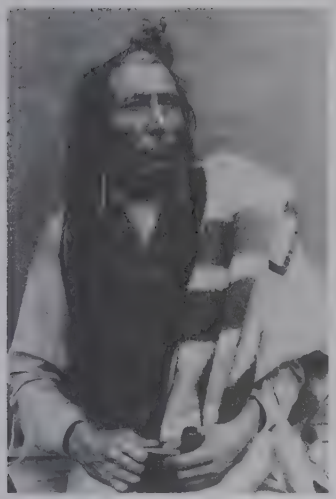


Figure 4.2 Main Battles of the Rebellion of 1885



Poundmaker, a Cree chief, joined Big Bear and the Métis in the rebellion.

"Riel shall hang, though every dog in Quebec bark in his favour."
John A. Macdonald

"I am not guilty. A lot has been said against me that is untrue. I am glad of what I have done in the Queen's country. What I did was for the Great Mother. When my people and the whites met in battle, I saved the Queen's men. I took the firearms from my following and gave them up. Everything I could do was to prevent bloodshed. Had I wanted war, I would not be here but on the prairie. You did not catch me. I gave myself up. You have me because I wanted peace. I cannot help myself, but I am still a man. You may do as you like with me. I am done."
Poundmaker, Cree Chief

Riel returned from the United States to help the Métis. Riel believed 20
that God **had chosen** him to speak for the Métis. He travelled and spoke at meetings in the Northwest. He helped people write letters and petitions to send to Ottawa to explain their problems. He also demanded a job and money from the government to support his family.

Macdonald was willing to resolve the Métis' conflicts with the sur- 21
veyors. But he refused to give Riel money. Macdonald and the government continued to be slow in answering the letters or petitions from the Métis, settlers, and First Nations groups.

Riel and Gabriel Dumont became **impatient**. They decided to start 22
a **rebellion** in order to push the government. Force would get the government's **attention**! Some members of the Cree nation led by Poundmaker and Big Bear joined Riel and Dumont.

Riel, Dumont, and their supporters set up a Métis government. This 23
time the federal government acted quickly. Macdonald sent 8 000 soldiers to the West. The soldiers and their weapons were moved quickly on the CPR. The fast action of the CPR impressed everyone. It also saved the CPR from **bankruptcy**.

In three months, Riel and Dumont were **defeated.** About 100 people 24
were killed, and many more were hurt. The rebellion cost the government $5 million!

Gabriel Dumont and some Métis and First Nations leaders escaped 25
to the United States. Most were captured. Big Bear and Poundmaker were sent to jail for a few years. Riel gave himself up and was charged with **treason**.

QUESTIONS

a. Why did Riel return to the Northwest?
b. How did Riel and Dumont decide to resolve the conflict? Was this a successful way of resolving conflict? Why or why not?
c. Do you think the government's decision to respond with violence was a successful way of resolving the conflict? Why or why not?

How did other Canadians react?

People in Quebec were divided over the rebellion. Some French Cana- 26
dians **opposed** the rebellion. They thought the Métis were wrong to use violence and wanted Riel to be tried for treason.

Other French Canadians disagreed. They felt sorry for the Métis. 27
They felt the government **had ignored** the problems for too long. They understood why the Métis **had used** violence. Many French Canadians thought that the English Canadian majority wanted to destroy their religion and language in the West.

Louis Riel was tried for treason in Regina in July 1885.

What happened at the trial of Louis Riel?

The government claimed that Riel **had started** the rebellion to get money from the Canadian government. It also blamed him for the deaths of many people. Government lawyers asked the jury to find Riel guilty. Riel's lawyers said he was not guilty because he was **insane**. Riel disagreed with his own lawyers. The jury found Riel guilty of treason, but asked that he be treated with **mercy**. 28

Macdonald had a problem: if Riel was executed, many French Canadians would be angry and would not vote for Macdonald and his government again. On the other hand, if Riel's life was spared and his punishment was changed to life in prison, many English Canadians would be angry. Finally, the federal Cabinet decided to hang Riel. He was executed on November 16, 1885. 29

As a result of Riel's execution, fewer French Canadians voted for Macdonald and his **Conservative Party** government. Wilfrid Laurier became the leader of the **Liberal Party** of Canada. He was the first French Canadian to become a party leader. In 1896, more French Canadians voted Liberal and the Conservatives lost a lot of their support in Quebec. With support in all provinces, Laurier became the first French-Canadian Prime Minister of Canada. 30

A RIEL UGLY POSITION

This editorial cartoon showed the federal government's dilemma over the fate of Riel.

QUESTIONS

a. What did Macdonald's government gain by deciding to execute Riel?
b. What did Macdonald's government lose by deciding to execute Riel?

Did the National Policy bring settlers to the West?

By the late 1890s, the government stepped up its search for new immigrants to settle the West. The government owned the land. The railway was finished. Prices for wheat were high. A high **profit** in farm- 31

Clifford Sifton thought peasants from Ukraine in Russia would make good farming settlers, because they were healthy and hardworking. Other Canadians felt differently.

ing was a good way to persuade people to come to Canada. The government had land to give away!

Canada needed people to settle the land. Prime Minister Laurier 32
asked Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior and Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to find people to settle the land. Sifton first invited farmers from the American West, who knew how to farm on the Prairies, to settle the Canadian West. But the government wanted many more settlers.

Where did Canada look for immigrants?

"Are you going to permit the destiny of Canada to be determined by men who have no love for our traditions, who know not of them and have none of our reflected aspirations?"

R.B. Bennet, MP for Calgary, 1912, and later prime minister of Canada

Sifton looked for farmers from eastern and northern Europe. Many 33
Canadians did not like this. They wanted only British or other English-speaking people to immigrate to the Canadian West.

How did Canada attract new settlers?

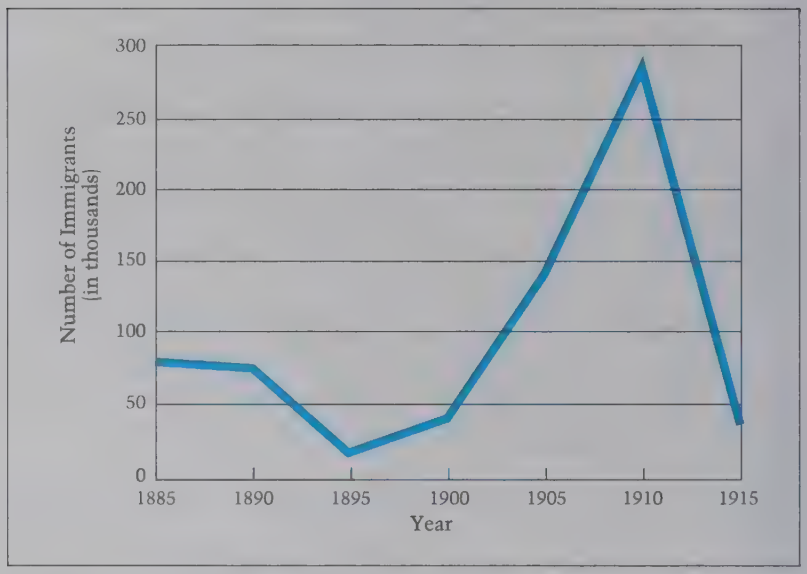
Canada offered free land to anyone who would sign an agreement to 34
stay on the land for three years. This was part of the *Homestead Act*. Europeans had to think carefully about the advantages and disadvantages. In their homeland, they had family, friends, homes, and a familiar language and religion. If they decided to go to Canada, they would have to leave these things behind.

Many people hoped that going to Canada would solve some prob- 35
lems. European farms were getting too small to produce what a family needed. Political changes were also happening in parts of Europe. Many

FREE FARMS FOR THE MILLION
DOMINION OF
CANADA
CLIMATE THE HEALTHIEST IN THE WORLD.
FREE FARMS of 160 ACRES
MANITOBA, CANADIAN NORTH-WEST AND BRITISH COLUMBIA
GRANTS FROM 100 TO 240 ACRES ARE OFFERED IN OTHER PARTS OF CANADA.
DOMINION LINE
Royal Mail Steamships
Between LIVERPOOL, BRISTOL and MONTREAL
HALIFAX and PORTLAND, MAINE, in Winter.

Clifford Sifton placed advertisements like this in European newspapers, hoping to attract settlers to the Canadian West.

Figure 4.3 Number of Immigrants to Canada, 1885-1915



Based on figures from Historical Statistics of Canada, Series A 350

of the Europeans, like the Mennonites, were discriminated against because of their religion or their way of life. These were some of the reasons, often called "push factors," for many people wanting to leave Europe.

At the same time, Canada had attractions, or "pull factors." There 36
was the promise of free farmland. For those who wanted more, it was available for purchase at low prices. In Canada, new immigrants could have as much land as they wanted and escape discrimination.

Sifton's policies to attract people were successful. Between 1891 and 37
1911, more than 2 million immigrants came from 22 different countries. Nearly half were not British. Large numbers of Italians, Russians, Poles, and Ukrainians came.

What were the effects of immigration on Canada?

The population grew. Most of the increase was due to immigration. 38
Nearly 50 per cent of the new immigrants went to Manitoba and the North-West Territories. So many people went to the Northwest that two new provinces were needed. In 1905, the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were created.

Two new railways were started to carry settlers and their goods to 39
the new provinces. By 1911, more than 80 per cent of the people in the western provinces were born outside Canada. Many languages, including Cree, English, French, Russian, Ukrainian, Icelandic, and German, were spoken on the Prairies.

The immigrants faced many difficulties when they came to Canada. 40
They had to learn a new language and a new way of life. Some were alone on the Prairies. Others were crowded together in the cities. Many Canadians did not welcome the newcomers, did not like their differ-

The building of the CPR made it easier for immigrants to move westward.

ent ways, and made life difficult for them. Some Canadians felt that the immigrants took away their jobs. Despite the difficulties, almost all the immigrants stayed in Canada.

QUESTIONS

a. What type of people did Canada want at this time?
b. What attracted people to Canada? What were some of the problems they faced?
c. When did you or your family come to Canada? Why? What were some of the advantages and disadvantages of immigrating to Canada?

Immigrants enjoy a game of skipping on the deck of the S.S. *Empress of Britain*.

CASE STUDY

The Immigrant Experience on the Prairies

Here are stories told by some of the people who came to settle on the Prairies at the beginning of this century:

The Ship over the Ocean:

> The ship was supposed to be a ship that would ordinarily carry 700 passengers and there were 2 500 of us on board. There were a lot of goods being brought over. Everybody had a lot of things; some even brought their pianos.... We were in what was called the forward hold. It was below the water line. As we walked down, it looked pretty nice, but when we got closer we saw that it was just whitewash. Later on when we got going, the whitewash got knocked off the walls as the waves hit it. The whitewash would fall off in chunks and there was manure under it. It had been used to transport horses. *P.S. Hordern, 1903*

The Train to Western Canada:

The train was full of immigrants like ourselves. Parents with children of all ages...with a sprinkling of English. As the days wore on, children became cranky, babies cried, parents tired. *Gertrude Winter, 1882.*

The Hotel:

The next day we stayed for hours in that waiting room while my father hunted the city for accommodation. Late in the afternoon, he procured a room in a hotel which wasn't quite finished yet, but the proprietor let us have it as a favour, as we could get nothing else. We paid $5 a day for that room and all it had was a bed on the floor. At first we went down for meals but they were poor and badly cooked. They used to chop slices of meat off a frozen quarter of beef and then fry it to a chip, so we bought provisions and picnicked in our room. *Gertrude Winter, 1882.*

The Homestead:

We reached our homestead at last. I'll never forget the desolate feeling that came over me, when, with the contents of the wagon out on the ground, we sat on a box and looked around, not a sign of any other human habitation or a road leading to one to be seen, nothing but bluff, water, and grass. Then I realized that we were at the end of our journey, that this was to be our home, that if we wanted a house to cover us, a stable for our horses, a well for drinking water, it would all have to be the work of our own hands.

A new settler.

Early settlers break up soil and bushes on the Prairies.

A house made of sod was the first home of many Prairie settlers.

Building the House:

The walls were built like laying bricks. The sods were...laid with grass side down. We had one rough-made door...which was difficult to fit into the sod walls. The roof was a lean-to type, there were three windows...with four lights in each. ...not much light could come in, of course no storm windows. Many cold days in winter an inch or more of frost would gather on the inside of the windows. *James Rugg, 1905*

At Work: Farming:

We are now plowing with 24 women to a plow. The women tried the spades digging, but plowing was easier and quicker. They are plowing for the gardens...The worst is, not enough stock. Without animals nothing can be done. We are starting a new village over there. And so we must let those people for the new village have the horses to haul logs to build themselves human and animal shelters before winter comes again. And that means no rest for the animals – poor things. And to give them some rest, we humans hitch ourselves to the plows. All our men are busy; many are away to the towns and cities getting work on railway construction, they have to earn money for the community fund. *J.F.C. Wright.*

A farm family harvesting in 1883.

Nature:

We took shelter when the storm rolled over us, and when we came out 10 minutes later our beautiful waving fields of wheat were a blackened, battered mess of mud and straw. Hail, and terrible rain, but mostly hail. Huge hailstones lying everywhere... Our farmyard was strewn with the dead bodies of Mother's chickens, and the swollen river had swept away the geese and ducks that had been feeding on it. In our pasture were, everywhere, the bodies of our young cattle and calves that had been pounded to death by hailstones the size of walnuts... All in 10 minutes, without knowing what was going on as we huddled in the shelter, all the work of a year had gone for nothing. Just nothing. Just blackened, battered crops in the mud, good for nothing at all. *An immigrant farmer.*

Winters were hard for early European settlers on the Prairies.

Winter:

> Winter struck suddenly and fiercely. We woke one morning to find the water in the tea kettle frozen.... Nail heads in the walls were little ice marbles. The walls...were not frostproof. The house had been built...with no insulation. Consequently the rooms were very cold. Jack built fires in the kitchen and living room and we thawed out in time. Even so, we had to saw through frozen bread, shave candle-wax hard butter, and do without eggs for breakfast, for when we chipped the shells off, glass balls of egg whites remained, and would take too long to thaw. I would have put some unshelled into cold water to thaw, but the cold water was solid ice in the pails. The bottoms of the pails bulged and would probably be sprung, and leak, when the water thawed. So we left them frozen. We could chip out the pieces. *Ellen Lively*

CHAPTER FIVE

Working in Canada: 1867-1913

Canadian Natural Resources

This chapter is about the lives of working people in Canada, in rural and urban areas, at the ***turn of the century****. You will find out what changes the National Policy encouraged in Canada.*

QUESTIONS

a. Look at the pictures. What do you think living and working in Canada was like at the turn of the century?
b. Do you think workers could afford to buy a house?
c. What services might be in a house? Water? Toilets? Electricity? Sewers? Heat? Telephone?

How did the National Policy affect Canadian business?

Looking west on King St. in Toronto.

In 1867, the Canadian government thought that land, settlement, railways, and industries were the ways to prosperity. These were the ideas behind Confederation and the National Policy. It was the job of the Canadian government to help make this happen. 1

The Macdonald government started the National Policy by buying the Northwest, giving land to settlers, building a railway to the Pacific, and raising tariffs on American-made products. All this was done in the hope that Canadians would produce more goods and buy more Canadian products. Through making and spending money, Canadian prosperity would be achieved. 2

Canadian businesses benefited from the National Policy. More people bought Canadian goods because they could no longer afford American-made products. Canadian businesses used their profits to build more factories and hire more workers. Gradually, more and more immigrants came to Canada. They helped to settle the West and build the country. 3

When did Canadian cities grow?

Harvesting logs in British Columbia.

There were three main **reasons** for the growth of towns and cities. One was the increased need for **manufactured** goods. The new railways needed engines and rail cars, and the new settlers needed tools and equipment for their farms. Industries were established to meet these demands, and people came to work in the factories. 4

Another factor was location. Towns grew if they were located around waterways or railways that were used for transport. People came to these towns to buy, sell, and transport products. 5

A third factor was the development of natural resources. Towns developed where people came to work in resource-based industries. For example, pulp and paper factories were located close to forests and near rivers and lakes that supplied the water needed for paper making. These industries established towns for their workers. Another example is the towns that developed around mines in the Canadian 6

Shield and the western mountains.

Between 1880 and 1911, the number of people who chose to live in urban areas grew by more than 50 per cent. Most Canadians still lived in rural areas. But by 1911, more than 40 per cent of Canadians lived in towns and cities. 7

QUESTION

a. What were the three main factors contributing to the growth of towns and cities in Canada at the turn of the century?

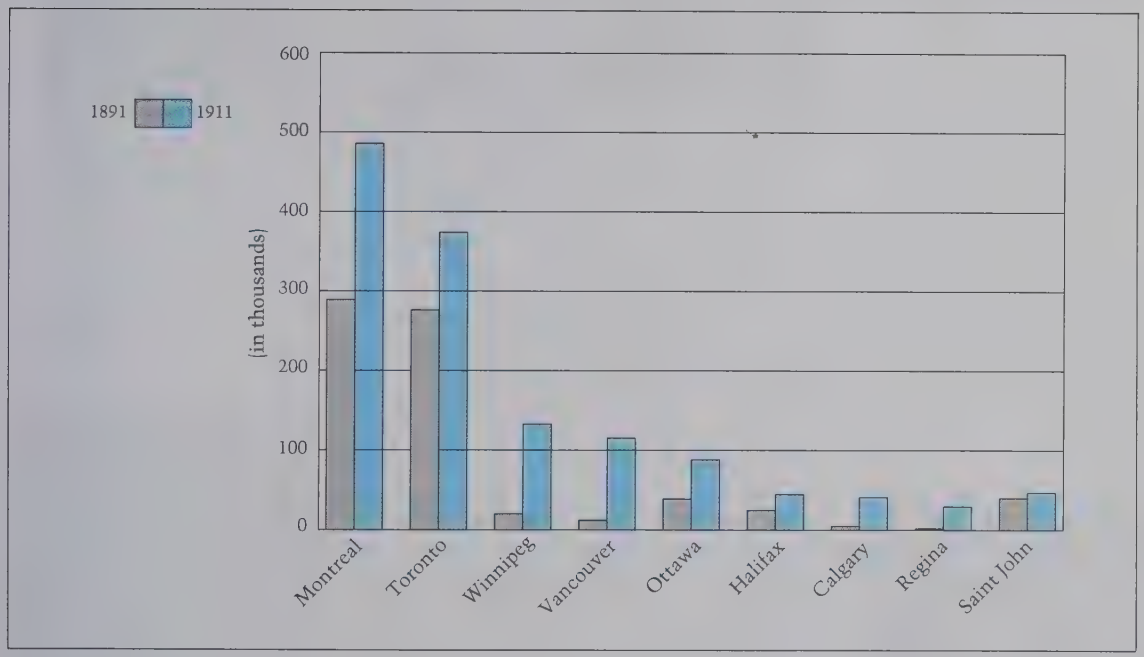


Figure 5.1 Growth of Canadian Cities, 1885-1911

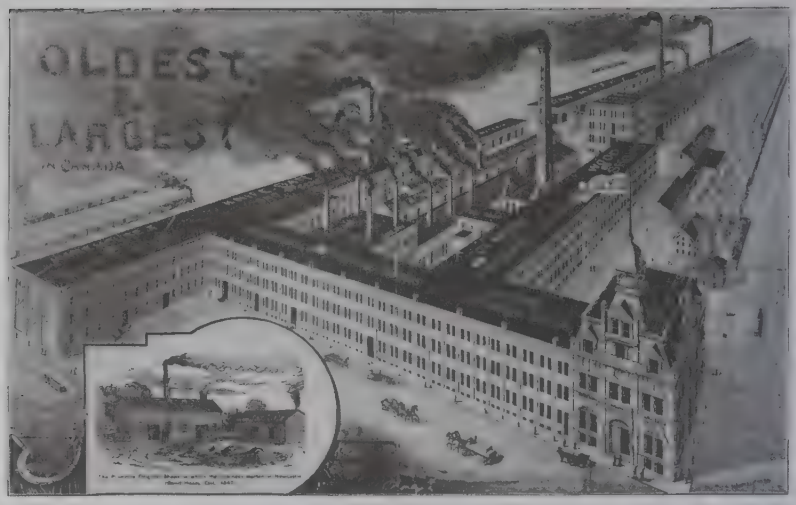
CASE STUDY

Massey-Ferguson

The rise of large manufacturing industries was tied closely to the growth of the cities. Cities provided the large numbers of people needed to work in the new factories. These people also bought many of the manufactured goods.

To help Canadian manufacturers, the government taxed products from other countries. This encouraged Canadians to buy products made in their own country. The Canadian manufacturing industry grew. Massey-Ferguson Limited is a good example of a company that grew for all these reasons.

Hart Massey built a huge factory in Toronto to make farm equipment. He used the railway to send the tools and machines to western farmers. The tariffs on American-made farm equipment made it cheaper for Canadians to buy Massey's tractors and threshers. The company became one of the largest manufacturers in the country. The Massey Manufacturing Company and



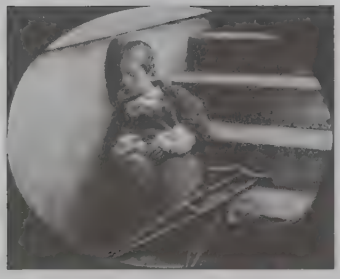
Head office of the Massey Manufacturing Co. (later Massey-Ferguson) in Toronto.

other manufacturers profited greatly from the settlement of the West. In 1880, Canada had produced manufacturered goods worth more than $304 million. By 1911, this had risen to $1.1 billion.

What was urban life like?

Life in the urban centres wasn't easy. Housing, health and working conditions were very poor for most people. 8

What was the housing situation for people in urban areas?



The only home this boy has is in the streets.

Few workers could afford to buy their own homes. Most rented. Many factory workers lived in crowded and unhealthy conditions. Sometimes as many as eight people shared a room. Many places had rooms with no windows and no fresh air. Sometimes buildings were so close together that, even if they had windows, not much air or light could enter. 9

In many Canadian cities outdoor toilets still existed. Although modern plumbing was available, it was expensive. Poorer people could not afford such a **luxury**. Many houses were poorly built. Their location was often worse. Houses were built next to factories to make it easier for people to get to work. But it also meant that people had to live with the sights, sounds, and smells of the factories. 10

> In the vicinity of Manning Avenue and Bloor Street, and within a radius of a quarter mile, there were situated 15 slaughter houses...The residents in the locality complain bitterly of the odours arising from them, especially in the summer months. The smell is so bad that even on warm evenings the residents are compelled to keep their doors and windows closed and to remain indoors... Even when these places are kept perfectly clean their number would be sufficient to give rise to the vile smells no matter what care may be taken to keep them in proper condition.
>
> *Toronto Medical Health Officer, 1892*

While some workers lived in houses like this (left), their employers often lived in houses similar to the Massey home (right).

A house to house inspection was made of the district... we found privy pits [outdoor toilets] which had not been cleaned for three years or more. Some of these pits were in close proximity to the kitchen door as two feet.

Toronto Medical Health Officer, 1892

What were the health problems in urban areas?

In addition to housing, health was a major problem. **Insanitary** food and water led to disease. Because people lived so close together, diseases spread quickly and **infected** many people. There was no public health **insurance**; people who could not pay a doctor might not receive treatment. 11

Health and living conditions for most working people improved slowly. As a beginning, cities created health departments to try to control epidemics. It was a long time before these departments were **effective**. It was only in 1919 that the federal government created a Department of Health to establish **standards** for the entire country. Even then, things did not always get better. Provinces could set up health **codes**, but they could not make cities provide the money to deal with the problems. Some employers and landlords **ignored** the health codes. To make things worse, the causes of many health problems and diseases were still unknown. 12

Science showed that many diseases were caused and spread by unsanitary conditions. Once these conditions were controlled, city living would improve. Until then, life in Canada's new cities was not easy. 13

In 1910, the houses on Elizabeth Street in Toronto got sewers.

I just had my fourteenth birthday yesterday. It's hard to believe that three years have gone by since I first came to work at the cigar factory.

The company doesn't like it if we talk while we work. If they catch you talking they make you pay a fine. I know someone who had to pay $3 in fines one week. Her wages that week were only $2. She ended the week owing the company money.

Young factory worker

What were working conditions like in the cities?

In the cities, people worked long hours: about 60 hours a week. Pay was very low: by 1911, the average weekly wage for manufacturing workers was $10.27. The basic cost of rent, food, fuel for heating, and light was $12.22 a week. This meant that families needed more than one wage-earner. Women and children, as well as men, worked in factories. Work was often **seasonal**: companies employed their workers 14

for only part of the year. There were no benefits: no vacation pay, no accident insurance, no health care plan, no unemployment insurance, and no welfare. Families had to work hard and save money to get ahead.

Relationships between employers and employees were often very 15
bad. Workers had no rights. If they complained about working conditions, they could be fired. Some employers **intimidated** the workers through fines, beatings, and the threat of being laid off or fired. Immigrants were threatened with **deportation**, and some were deported.

Machines were often dangerous, and there were many accidents. 16
At first, workers who were injured on the job had no rights. Gradually, provinces introduced **compensation** for injured workers. Employers had to **contribute** to a fund so that injured workers could receive some **financial** support.

I've seen me on the summer fallow at 11 years old, hardly big enough then to get the harness on, and me with a four-horse team, and at seven in the morning seeing all the other kids going down the road to school, where I should have been going except Dad said the field had to be done, and that was that and I did it.

Young farm worker

QUESTION

a. Compare living conditions in Canada's urban centres between 1867 and 1911 with living conditions today. Talk about these topics:
   - Number of people per house
   - Location of houses
   - Windows
   - Water
   - Air quality
   - Food
   - Toilets
   - Health care

Farmers often helped one another to plant and harvest crops and to build houses and raise barns.

What was it like to live and work in rural areas?

Work on farms in eastern Canada was long and hard. Men received 17
their **room and board** (a place to sleep and food to eat) and a few dollars a week. Some farm labourers moved to the West to start their own farms. New immigrants often worked for other farmers and saved their money to buy farms and equipment of their own. The everyday conditions of farm life did not change much as a result of the National Policy.

These workers were called "bunkhouse men."

Even children sometimes worked in the mines.

Many men found work building railways and cutting lumber. They 18
lived in camps; work was hard and the living conditions were terrible. Men were crowded into shacks with no windows and poor air. There was nowhere to bathe or wash clothes. Food was sometimes very bad. Wages were low, and workers had to pay for their supplies.

When Canadian- and British-born workers complained about con- 19
ditions, companies began hiring workers from southern and eastern Europe and from China. Chinese workers earned less than Europeans. Companies **took advantage** of workers who didn't speak English. New immigrants were given the most dangerous jobs; deaths and injuries were common.

Other men found jobs in Canada's growing number of mines. Fac- 20
tories and railways burned coal for fuel. Coal came from mines in Nova Scotia, British Columbia, and Alberta. Miners faced very dangerous conditions, and accidents killed many workers. Many miners also suffered from severe health problems. Little was known about the danger of coal dust to lungs.

A hacking cough pulls at his chest.
His eyes swell up, and his face turns blacker than night,
And from his heart swells a sea of grief;
Then ask, brother, which is the greatest suffering—
In the old world or the new?

V. Lysenko: *Men in Sheepskin Coats*

Conditions were often unsafe for miners like these men working in a phosphate mine in Quebec.

Sometimes workers organized unions and went on strike for better 21
conditions. Mine owners usually refused to negotiate. Often, they hired new workers to break the union's strike.

QUESTION

a. How have working conditions changed during the twentieth century? Talk about these topics:
   - Hours of work per week
   - Role of unions
   - Safety in the workplace
   - Benefits
   - Wages
   - Child labour
   - Relations between employers and employees

How could unions help workers?

Some employers needed skilled workers such as printers and 22
machinists. Usually, skilled workers were able to read and write. They formed unions and negotiated better wages and working conditions. Most other workers did not know how to read or write. They had more difficulty organizing unions and negotiating with employers.

Before 1872, it was **illegal** in Canada to organize a union and strike. 23
Then Sir John A. Macdonald changed the law. But employers did not

have to recognize unions, and they were still free to fire workers who joined unions.

Employers were **hostile** to unions. They regularly refused to negotiate with union leaders. Employers thought increasing wages or improving working conditions would increase their production costs. Increased costs would increase prices. Employers were afraid that people would stop buying their products. They often forced workers to strike by ignoring their demands, and then locked them out. They fired union organizers and members and hired replacement workers. Striking workers called these new workers "scabs." Sometimes workers became angry and frustrated. At the first hint of violence, employers called in the police. The government would send in the **militia** to help railway companies and mine owners put down strikes. 24

In 1894, the federal government made the first Monday in September a holiday and called it Labour Day. In 1906, the government passed a law called the *Lord's Day Act* to make Sunday a day of rest for most workers. But before 1911, both federal and provincial governments did very little to help the average worker. 25

QUESTIONS

a. Your Employer and You: What rights do you have?
What rights do they have?

How much do you know about workers' and employers' rights in Canada today? Answer the following True or False.

i You can start working at the age of 12.
ii It is legal for an employer to pay a worker 25 cents a day.
iii You have the right to meet with anyone you like.
iv You may join any association of people.
v Employers can make you work at jobs that may cause you injury.
vi Employers have the right to refuse to hire you because of your religion, race, or sex.
vii You have the right to talk at work.
viii You have the right to refuse to do work if you think it will injure you.
ix Employers have the right to fire you because you join a union.
x Employers have the right to ask you where you are from.

A sewing machine manufactory in Hamilton.

Table 5.1
Number of Women Servants in Canada

Year	Number of Women Servants	Total Number of Servants
1891	79 473	195 990
1901	81 493	237 949
1911	98 128	364 821
1921	88 825	490 150

Adapted from: J. Acton, P. Goldsmith, B. Shepard, eds., *Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930*. Toronto, 1974, p. 72.

Did life in the workplace improve for women?

Women around the world have always worked hard. Poor women and immigrant women often had to work outside their own homes to pay family bills. Before 1911, most of these women worked as servants. Young women were often live-in servants. They were **on call** almost all the time. They had very little freedom and almost no **privacy**. They 26

1

2

3

4

1 Clerks in a mail order office at the Robert Simpson Company, c. 1909.
2 Women often worked in clothing factories like this one in Hamilton, Ontario, c. 1871.
3 Woman ironing a starched petticoat, c. 1901.
4 Workers at looms, 1908.

received room and board and were paid $10 to $25 a month.

Many other women chose to work in factories. Factory work paid 27
better, and women were free to go home at 6 p.m. Then, there was work to be done at home — washing, ironing, cleaning, and meals to prepare. Life was hard for women whether they were servants or workers.

Women were paid less than men. Skilled male labourers made 28
between $2 and $5 more a week than female workers in the cotton and textile factories.

Many manufacturing and office jobs were not open to women before 29
World War I (1914). The Bell Telephone Company of Canada hired women to work as **operators**. They were strictly **supervised** and were not allowed to talk to each other while they were working. Often, the operators received electric shocks from the telephone lines. They worked long hours under pressure.

In 1907, 400 Toronto operators went on strike when Bell tried to increase their hours without overtime pay.

Women also found jobs as sales clerks. Store owners thought women would be more polite to customers. Both the T. Eaton Company and the Robert Simpson Company hired many women. Women might have been more polite, but they still earned less than men. They were paid $6 to $8 a week compared with $10 to $12 for men. 30

Few women were allowed into the **professions** because women were **discouraged** from going to university. Single women could become elementary school teachers. They, too, had very little freedom or privacy. In rural areas, they not only taught all grades, but they had to clean the one-room school, and women were paid less than men. 31

Very few women taught in secondary schools. Even fewer taught in universities. In 1901, Canada had 857 university **professors**; only 47 of them were women. 32

Nursing was another profession open to women. Nurses worked 12-hour shifts and were not paid well. Women were not allowed to go to medical school until 1883. Then hospitals were **reluctant** to hire female doctors. This made it difficult for them to get hospital **experience.** 33

It was very hard for women to be **accepted** in professions other than teaching and nursing. Work **opportunities** for women did not improve very much and the government did not help them. Unions did not even consider helping female workers. They represented only 13.3 per cent of the workforce in 1911. 34

Although Emily Howard Stowe eventually became Canada's first woman doctor, she had to study medicine in New York state. Women were not allowed to go to medical school in Canada.

QUESTIONS

a. Make a list of jobs that women were allowed to do between 1867 and 1911.
b. Make a list of jobs that women do now.
c. How were women discriminated against in employment?

CHAPTER SIX

Canada and World War I: 1914-1921

In this chapter you will find out how World War I started, and how Canada was involved in the war. You will find out what it was like to be a soldier in that war, and what life was like in Canada during the war years. You will also find out how Canadian society changed because of the war.

How did Canada become involved in the war?

Canadians were surprised when World War I began in 1914. Everyone also thought it would be a short war. They were wrong. In those days, it was hard to imagine a war that involved so many countries. When the British government asked Canada to help, the Prime Minister, Robert Borden, wanted to show that Canada could be involved in international matters, such as war. But some Canadians did not want war, and this caused conflicts within Canada. 1

What caused World War I?

Europe had not had a major war for 100 years. Recent wars had involved only a few countries. They had also been short. Suddenly, in August 1914, all the major countries in Europe were involved in a big war. How did this happen? 2

In 1914, Europe was ready for war. There were four reasons for this. One was **militarism**. Many countries in Europe, such as Britain, France, and Germany, had strong armies and navies and plenty of weapons. Another cause was **imperialism**. The European countries **competed** for land, or colonies, and trade. A third cause was **nationalism**. People had strong feelings of pride in their countries and cultures. Militarism, imperialism, and nationalism gave rise to many conflicts. Europe was ready for war! 3

Militarism, imperialism, and nationalism led to the final cause of World War I: the **alliance system**. 4

What was the alliance system?

The alliance system was a kind of political partnership. European countries became worried that wars might start because of militarism, imperialism, and nationalism. So they each began to look for partners and **allies** who would support and help them. For example, Germany and Austria-Hungary made an alliance; they promised to defend each other in case one of them was attacked by another country. Turkey made an alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary. This group of nations was called the **Central Powers**. 5

Meanwhile, France and Russia promised to defend each other if one of them was attacked by another country. Britain joined them and became an ally of France and Russia. This alliance was called the **Allied Powers**. 6

Each member of the Central and Allied powers had colonies. If a war began, the colonies would be involved in the war as well. 7

How did the war begin?

The fighting began between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, a small country. The Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria and his wife, Sophia, were assassinated by Serbian nationalists. The assassination gave Austria-Hungary an excuse to crush Serbian nationalism. Austria-Hungary **declared** war on Serbia on July 26, 1914. 8

Although Serbia was a small country, it had powerful friends. Russia was a friend and felt it was a "big brother" to Serbia, so Russia got ready for war with Austria-Hungary. Austria-Hungary brought in its allies; Russia brought in its allies. Britain was one of them. The war spread very quickly. 9

When the war broke out — you cannot believe unless you went there. The country went mad! People were singing on the streets and roads. Everybody wanted to be a hero, everybody wanted to go to war.

Burt Remington

As a result of Britain's declaration of war, Canada and the other countries of the British Empire were automatically at war, too. Canada was still a colony of Britain; therefore, Britain controlled Canada's relationships with other countries. The British government had helped Canada since 1867. Now it was Canada's turn to support Britain in fighting this war. 10

QUESTIONS

a. What were the four causes of war in 1914 in Europe?
b. Why was this war called a "world" war?
c. Why were so many countries involved in this war?
d. Why was Canada involved in this war?

How did Canadians react to news of war?

Some Canadians were **eager** to go to war and **volunteered** to join the army right away. These volunteers felt deep loyalty to Canada, Britain, and King George V. They wanted to join the Allied **war effort**. Other 11

These young Canadians did not know about the horrors of war. They would learn quickly.

Little did these volunteers know that soon mud would dissolve their boots and jam their guns.

Canadians joined because they were unemployed. The army offered pay, three meals a day, and **adventure**.

"This war is the suicide of our civilization."

Robert Borden's diary, 1915

Not everyone was eager to go to war; some people **opposed** the idea. 12
Many of them were French Canadians. They did not feel loyalty to Britain. They did not like the idea of Canada fighting in Britain's wars. French Canadians wanted Canada to be independent and not controlled by Britain. When war was declared fewer French Canadians volunteered. Later in this chapter, you will find out more about the conflict between English and French Canadians about the war.

QUESTION

a. Why were some Canadians eager to go to war? Why did others oppose the idea?

The darkest days of World War I came with the horror of trench warfare in the Somme in 1916.

How did Canadians respond to the call for volunteers?

Canada's Prime Minister, Robert Borden, promised in August 1914 13
to send 25 000 soldiers. By October, he was able to send 32 000 because there were so many volunteers. The first Canadian soldiers were poorly trained and equipped. But nothing could prepare the soldiers for the **horrors** of modern war. No one had ever seen a war like this one.

What was a soldier's life like?

Soldiers from both sides, the Allied Powers and the Central Powers, 14
dug three rows of deep **trenches**. **Barbed wire** was placed in front of the trenches. The area between the enemy trenches was called **no-**

These Canadian troops are making good use of a shell hole before a night attack in June 1917.

man's land. Heavy **artillery** was set up behind the trenches to fire shells on the opposing side.

Life in the trenches was horrible. When they were not fighting, the 15
soldiers lived in holes in the ground. These holes were called **dug-outs**. When it rained, and it rained a lot, the water would rush into the trenches and the dug-outs. The soldiers were wet. Often they had to work, eat, and sleep in the water or mud.

The soldiers were often cold, wet, and dirty. **Lice** and rats were every- 16
where in the trenches. Soldiers that died in no-man's land or on the barbed wire could not easily be brought back to be buried; the rats would eat the bodies. Disease and infections were everywhere because of the lice, rats, and flies. Dying soldiers cried, dead and rotting bodies smelled, and guns never stopped firing on the trenches. Sometimes, the artillery would shell their own trenches by mistake. When a trench was hit, the whole trench and the soldiers in it could just disappear into the mud.

Extermination of Lice
The body louse lives on clothes over the skin. It requires a meal of blood twice in 24 hours. It lays eggs in the seams of clothing and retreats into the seams and folds after feeding. The female louse lays 6–7 eggs a day to a total of 295 and the eggs hatch in 3 days.

1. Change clothing as often as possible.
2. Keep verminous clothing away from uninfested kit.
3. Lice die of starvation in a week's time in discarded clothes.
4. Brushing and ironing are the best means of destroying the eggs.
5. Badly infested clothes not needed should be burnt, buried, or sunk in water.
6. The wearing of silk underclothes will act as a barrier to lice.

> One night I was awakened by stiff whiskers on my face. I opened my eyes to see a large rat scanning me gravely. He backed off a trifle as I looked at him and pushed himself into the palm of my hand. The feel of his feet was revolting and I pitched the thing from me...The rat rose in an arc and descended...straight into Thornton's mouth.

The soldiers often had to climb out of the trench and make their 17
way to the enemy trenches to attack. This was called "going over the top." The enemy artillery and machine guns would fire on them as soon as they climbed out. Few soldiers ever reached the enemy trenches, even though they might be only 25–100 metres away! The soldiers knew they were going to die: perhaps it would be in the trench, perhaps it would be in no-man's land, perhaps it would be the next time they went over the top. Many soldiers living in such conditions became mentally ill; this was called shellshock, and many of the men were unable to continue fighting.

Many soldiers wanted the war to end. They did not want to fight; 18
at first they did not hate the enemy. On Christmas Day, 1914, British and German soldiers met in no-man's land to play football and talk about their families and peace. Many soldiers from both sides hated the war.

QUESTIONS

a. What were some of the "horrors of war" that the soldiers experienced in the trenches?
b. What did "going over the top" mean?
c. Describe how you would feel just before "going over the top."

How did Canadian soldiers contribute to the war effort?

Canadians contributed to the war effort by sending men overseas to 19
fight for the Allies. Canadian soldiers were very important in the Allied war effort. Canada's first major battle was at Ypres from April 22–25, 1915. The Germans had a surprise for the Allied forces. It was a new deadly weapon: chlorine gas. This was modern warfare. Before the attack, the gas was released and the wind carried it toward the Allied trenches. Although some of the Allied troops ran away, the Canadian soldiers stayed. They suffered dreadful losses — 1850 were killed, 3491 were wounded, and 776 were captured by the Germans.

These soldiers equipped with gas masks examine their equipment.

When a grey green mass of chlorine gas
drifts down from the eastern sky,
You choke and spit till your lungs are split
and you see your best friend die

In the stink and stench of a rotten trench
mid the swarms of filthy flies
Some men got caught so their bodies rot
and the maggots eat their eyes.

Robert Swan

Losses were heavy in trench warfare. Prime Minister Borden 20
promised to send more and more soldiers. Some people believed that Canada could not support more than 250 000 soldiers. But Borden promised 500 000 in 1916!

The Canadian army's biggest **victory** came in April 1917. It was at 21
Vimy Ridge. The Allies had tried to push the German soldiers off this hill many times since 1914. They had always failed. In their attempts, they had lost 200 000 soldiers. The Canadian Corps planned this attack with great care. They **tunnelled** under the hill and placed explosive **mines**. Their artillery bombed the German guns. They were successful in taking Vimy Ridge, and Canadians were proud of their victory.

The Canadian victory at Vimy Ridge took the lives of 3598 Canadian soldiers and left 7104 more wounded.

Table 6.1 Enlistment/Casualty Rate for 1917

Month	Enlistments	Casualties
January	9 194	4 396
February	6 809	1 205
March	6 640	6 161
April	5 530	13 477
May	6 407	13 457
June	6 348	7 931
July	3 882	7 906
August	3 117	13 232
September	3 588	10 990
October	4 884	5 929
November	4 019	30 741
December	3 921	7 476

More than 20 000 Canadians also joined the British Royal Flying 22
Corps. This was later known as the Royal Air Force, or RAF. Airplanes were still a new invention. They were not very strong, and they crashed easily. Pilots usually died when their planes crashed. At first, planes were used to spy on the enemy. Later, machine guns were put on the planes so they could fight in the sky. Soldiers watched these **"dog-fights"** from the trenches. By June 1918, 35 per cent of the RAF's pilots were Canadians.

Canadian soldiers, Canadian pilots, and the Canadian government 23
gained the respect of other countries for their efforts in the war. Canada was now seen as a country, not a colony. But this respect was paid for by the young men who fought and died in Europe. This respect was earned even though there were some Canadians at home who believed that Canadian men should not even be in the war.

Canada's leading pilots, or "aces," like Billy Bishop, Raymond Collishaw, and Wilfrid May, flew in planes like this one.

"All bakers have been required to stop the manufacture of fancy bread."

Government Regulation
PAC 1918 4707

Advice to the Housewife

1. Use nut-butter or margarine.
2. Remake leftover bread into new bread, cake, or pudding.
3. Instead of one beefless day, why not try for six to make up for people less patriotic?
4. Eat as little cake and pastry as you can.
5. Use oats, corn, barley and rye instead of wheat.
6. Use ham and pork bones in other dishes.
7. Chew your food thoroughly — you will be satisfied with less.
8. All kinds of cold cereal can be saved, and when not enough to roll into balls to fry, they can be used in batter cakes and corn breads.
9. Cut each slice of bread as required.
10. Mix your own cleanser (use white sand, washing soda, soap and chalk).
11. Fifty million dollars is thrown away in garbage cans annually.
12. Do not display the joint of meat on the table. It is an inducement to eat more than you need.
13. Do not eat both butter *and* jam with bread.

War Meals 1917
OPA C-2-1 Canada Food Bill

Even young boys helped raise money for the cause.

QUESTIONS

a. What new weapon did the Germans introduce?
b. What were the effects of this weapon on soldiers?
c. Canadians are very proud of the way their soldiers behaved at Vimy. Why is that?
d. How did the image of Canada change because of Canada's war effort?

How did Canadians at home support the War?

While men were fighting overseas, people at home contributed to the war effort in many ways. Men and women worked on farms and in factories to produce food, weapons, clothes, and medical supplies for the soldiers; they lent money for the government to use in support of the war; and they gave up luxuries and lived very simply in order to save money and fuel for the war effort. 24

How did productivity improve during the War?

The government found ways to encourage more food production because much of the farmland in Europe had been destroyed. As a result, Canadian farmers produced twice as much wheat as they had before the war. They produced 300 per cent more cheese, 535 per cent more pork, and 795 per cent more beef! Canadian farmers supplied much of the food Canadian, British, and French soldiers ate. 25

The government organized the production of guns, shells, and other **munitions** for the Canadian and British armies. The **slogan** "Feed the Guns" encouraged companies and industries to produce munitions. 26

Canadian workers and industries supplied one-third of the ammunition used by British and Canadian soldiers.

The government encouraged Canadians to raise money for the war effort. The war cost Canada about $3 billion. To pay for it, the government placed new taxes on businesses, and in 1917 introduced personal income tax as a temporary measure. The government also asked Canadians to lend the government money, called "Victory Loans." In exchange, the government would pay 5 per cent interest on the loan. Canadians paid for three-quarters of the cost of the war just through taxes and Victory loans. 27

Canadians were told to eat less and use less fuel so that the resources of the country could be given to the soldiers. And they did! They gave up eating candies, pastries, and butter; they ate less bread and meat so that wheat, sugar, and meat could be sent to the soldiers. 28

How did women contribute to the war effort?

The war years were an important time for women. Men had gone to war, and industry needed workers. Women began to do jobs that traditionally had been done by men. They also set up organizations to contribute to the war. By the end of the war, 40 000 women were working in munitions factories, 1000 for the Royal Air Force, and 6000 for the Canadian government. Once the war was over, women were expected to give their jobs to the returning soldiers. Many did. However, women had proved that they could do more than had been expected of them. 29

Women routing powder groove in a munitions factory.

Canadian women also went to war.

QUESTIONS

a. How did Canadians at home contribute to the war effort?
b. In what three ways did the Canadian government direct Canadians' war efforts at home?

How did the War affect the political situation at home?

The decisions that Canadians had to face because of the war created conflict at home between groups of Canadians. There was conflict between English and French Canadians; women were becoming active in politics and demanding the right to vote; and there was conflict between Canadians and immigrants. 30

What was the cause of the conflict between English and French Canadians?

A major source of conflict between English and French Canadians was Canada's ties to Britain. When Britain declared war on Germany, most English Canadians supported the decision. Most English Canadian volunteers had either been born in Britain or felt strong ties to their parents' homeland. French Canadians did not have these ties to Britain. Their parents' homeland was not Britain or France; it was Canada. They did not feel the need to defend Britain. Fewer of them volunteered. 31

English Canadians thought that French Canadians were not doing their part to support the war. This conflict became very tense in 1917. In April, the number of men who were killed or injured was higher than the number of young men who were joining the army. English Canadians blamed the low rate of **enlistment** on the French Canadians. Actually, fewer people in all parts of Canada were enlisting. To make matters worse, Borden promised the British government that he would increase the size of the Canadian forces. 32

What message are these soldiers giving to other Canadians?

Borden believed conscription was the answer to Canada's contribution to the war effort.

Borden thought that a large Canadian contribution to the war effort would earn the respect of other countries. Canada would gain a stronger voice in international matters after the war. Borden decided to force Canadian men to join the army through **conscription.** 33

Many English Canadians supported conscription. It would force French Canadians to support the war effort. French Canadians opposed conscription. They believed that they were being punished for not volunteering. Some workers also opposed conscription. They felt that they were doing their share for the war at home. Because of the war, their jobs were more secure and better-paying. They did not want to go to war. They wanted to work and earn money. The farmers, too, opposed conscription. They needed their remaining sons to help on the farm. The government had asked them to produce more food, and they had. Many of their sons had already gone to the war and had not returned. The farmers thought that the government was asking too much. 34

QUESTIONS

a. Why did Borden want to introduce conscription?
b. Who opposed conscription? Why?

How was the conflict over conscription resolved?

Borden was afraid he would lose the 1917 election. He asked the Liberal Party to join his Conservative Party to form a Union government. He hoped that Liberals from non-French-speaking areas would support his plan of conscription. He also gave the right to vote to women who had relatives fighting in the war. Borden was sure that these women would support conscription because it would mean that their husbands and sons would get help from other soldiers. The government also took 35

away voting rights from immigrants from "enemy countries" who had not become citizens before 1902. Borden planned well; he won the 1917 election. He quickly started conscription. Many French Canadians still opposed the idea and were angry.

Borden had promised the British government he would supply more men. However, conscription did not produce many more fighting men. Many men who were conscripted were given **exemptions** because they were farmers' sons. Only 24 000 conscripts were sent to Europe. Only a few of these soldiers went to the trenches before the war ended. The arrival of 1 million American soldiers on the Western Front reinforced the Allied side in 1918, and helped it to win. 36

QUESTIONS

a. Did Borden successfully resolve the conscription conflict? Why or why not?
b. How did Borden ensure that he won the 1917 election?
c. Was conscription a successful way to get more soldiers?

How did women become politically active?

During the war years, women found that they could influence opinions on certain issues. One of these was the **prohibition** of alcohol. Many women felt that alcohol was a serious social problem that caused family violence and poverty. They wanted the government to make alcohol illegal. During the war, more Canadians agreed. Most Canadians thought they should not be having a good time when soldiers were dying. Supporters of prohibition also said that the wheat used to make alcohol should be used to feed the soldiers. As a result, by 37

CANADA NEEDS A "CLEAN UP" WEEK

Even those who stayed at home were urged to do their bit for the war effort.

Agnes Macphail was Canada's first woman member of Parliament.

1918, the government made the sale of alcohol illegal. Women started to have more confidence in asking for and using political power.

During the war, women got the right to vote in elections. The 38
women's suffrage movement demanded voting rights for women. Suffragists said that women in public life would improve society. They wanted laws that would improve family life, working conditions for women and children, and education. They argued that, as Canadian citizens, it was unfair that they did not have the right to vote.

Many Canadians agreed with the suffragists. Attitudes about women 39
were changing. People had seen women doing new jobs, helping with the war effort, and trying to improve society. At first, women won the right to vote only in provincial elections. Then, in 1917, the federal government gave all women who had relatives fighting in the war the right to vote in federal elections. By 1918, female citizens had the right to vote. However, Asian women and men were not allowed to vote until 1948, and Native men and women on reserves did not receive the right to vote until 1960.

Nellie McClung played an important role in winning women the right to vote in Manitoba.

Table 6.2: Women Get the Provincial Vote

Province	Suffrage
Manitoba	January 28, 1916
Saskatchewan	March 14, 1916
Alberta	April 19, 1916
British Columbia	April 5, 1917
Ontario	April 12, 1917
Nova Scotia	April 26, 1918
New Brunswick	April 17, 1919
Prince Edward Island	May 3, 1922
Newfoundland	April 13, 1925
Quebec	April 25, 1940

QUESTIONS

a. Why did prohibitionists want to make alcohol illegal?
b. What did the suffragists want?
c. How did World War I change the status of women?

Why were Canadians and immigrants in conflict?

Before the war started, many European immigrants were still coming 40
to Canada even though the economy was bad and there were very few new jobs. Many of these immigrants took low-paying jobs that other Canadians did not want. Many Canadians did not like these immigrants who spoke other languages. They were worried about losing jobs and having no money. They often blamed immigrants for low wages and unemployment.

Canadian attitudes toward immigrants worsened throughout the war years. People needed somebody to blame for their troubles.

"Clean the aliens out of this community and ship them back to their happy homes in Europe which vomited them forth a decade ago."

John W. Dafoe, Winnipeg Free Press

When the war began, many Canadians wanted European immigrants 41
fired or arrested. Sometimes they claimed that German and Austro-Hungarian immigrants were spies who would destroy property in Canada. But they had no proof. Many of the European immigrants had very low-paying jobs in mines or on farms. Their working conditions were often bad. They wanted employers to give them fairer pay and safer working conditions. They supported union activity. Many Canadians were suspicious of unions.

There were 528 000 people in Canada whose families came from 42
the enemy countries of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. Many Canadians didn't see any difference between immigrants from enemy countries and those from the Allied countries. Soon, Canadians were calling all immigrants enemy aliens. Some Canadians wanted all immigrant workers arrested and put in prison camps.

"From a police point of view, there has been less trouble amongst them [aliens] since the beginning of the war than before, the fact that several of them were sent to internment camps at the beginning of the war seemed to have a good effect on the rest...In my opinion, if there is any trouble over the employment of enemy aliens, it will be after the war is over and our people have returned."

Some towns and cities supported this idea. They asked the federal 43
government to put all immigrant families in camps. The federal government refused. It would be too expensive and unfair to the immigrants. The government knew that many of the immigrants had bad feelings about their homeland. They had come to Canada to find a new home. They had worked hard and now had a home in Canada. But, the government did not take action to resolve the conflicts between the immigrant workers and other Canadians.

The conflicts continued. By 1915, workers were asking companies 44
to fire enemy aliens. Some companies did; others refused. The federal government became worried that enemy aliens might be spies. They were also worried that the poor and unemployed immigrants would cause trouble. More than 8500 enemy aliens who were not citizens were put into camps and registered with the police. They were not allowed to own guns.

By 1916, the economy was improving and more workers were needed. Enemy aliens were hired to work on farms and in factories. Companies even hired some from the prison camps for $1.10 a day. If they complained about the working conditions, they were returned to the camps. The war had changed Canadian attitudes toward immigrants, and these attitudes continued even after the war ended. 45

QUESTIONS

a. Give two reasons some Canadians did not welcome immigrants before the war.
b. Do you think there is a relationship between employment and racial/religious discrimination?
c. Is discrimination still a problem in Canada?

When did the War end?

The First World War was called "the war to end all wars" because no one could imagine that any country would ever want to get involved in war again. When it ended, the world was a different place, and Canada had changed in many ways. 46

Canadians welcomed the returning soldiers with victory parades.

Every year at 11 a.m. on November 11, Canadians honour the memory of the Canadians who gave their lives in war. This is Remembrance Day.

The war ended "at the eleventh hour, on the eleventh day, in the eleventh month": November 11, 1918. In World War I, 650 000 Canadians served; 60 661 Canadians died, and 173 000 were wounded. Nearly all were volunteers. 47

QUESTIONS

a. What happens in Canada on Remembrance Day?
b. How do you observe Remembrance Day?

What did Canada's war efforts achieve?

Borden was happy. The Allied Powers recognized Canada's contribution and asked Canada to sign the Treaty of Versailles that ended the war. Now the world community recognized Canada as a young but responsible country. In 1919, Canada became a member of the **League of Nations**. This was an organization of many countries that wanted to keep peace and prevent future wars. 48

Canadians proved themselves in World War I. They were proud of their achievements. The country had entered the war as a colony of Britain. It came out as an independent country. Canada's industries were much stronger than before the war. Women were recognized as voters; more women were in the workforce. These were important changes to Canadian life. 49

QUESTIONS

a. What did Canada's war efforts achieve?

b. Were these achievements worth the number of lives, the amount of money spent, and the bad feelings between groups of Canadians? Why or why not?

What happened after the War?

The effects of the war lasted for many years. Canada was proud of its victory, but it was deeply divided. Returning soldiers, or **veterans**, were in conflict with **civilians** who never went to war; immigrants were unpopular with many Canadians; workers were in conflict with employers; farmers were dissatisfied with the government's economic policies; and French Canadians were still angry about conscription. Many people were angry with the government and disappointed with how little peace brought them. 50

Why were veterans and civilians in conflict?

Soldiers who returned from the war needed jobs. At the same time, factories were laying off workers. Uniforms, weapons, and munitions were no longer needed. Factories had to change to peacetime production. This did not happen quickly. How were veterans to marry or support families without jobs? They demanded **cash bonuses** for their years of service in the army. The government refused. To pay for the war, it had borrowed $164 million! It did not want to borrow more. Instead, the government offered the veterans small **pensions**, free land in the west, and hospitals to care for the wounded. They also promised to hire the veterans first for the few government jobs available. 51

The veterans were **dissatisfied**. They felt **rejected**. They had been willing to die for their country; now their country would not even give them jobs! They felt **unappreciated**. At the beginning of the war they were needed. Now that the war was over, Canadians seemed to be saying that they were no longer needed. Many of the veterans were **bored** and **frustrated**. They had nothing to do. Because the price of farm products was falling rapidly, free land would not help them. Most veterans had been proud of their victory. Unemployment took away that pride; they felt **humiliated**. 52

Some veterans demanded the jobs held by women and "enemy aliens." They attacked stores and companies that employed immigrants instead of veterans. Most women in industry lost their jobs. In towns and cities, some veterans became so frustrated that they assaulted new immigrants in the streets. 53

QUESTION

a. Why did the veterans feel rejected, frustrated, and humiliated?

Why were immigrants and other Canadians in conflict?

The unfair treatment of "enemy alien" immigrants showed that some people were still very worried about their own economic and cultural security. These Canadians continued to demand that the government stop accepting immigrants from non-English-speaking countries because they thought too many immigrants would change Canada's English culture. They also demanded that the government accept only rich immigrants because they were worried that immigrants would take Canadian jobs. They wanted the government to discriminate against groups of people because of their race or religion. In later years, the Canadian government did exactly that. It wasn't until the 1960s that discrimination against different racial groups became illegal. 54

QUESTION

a. What did some Canadians ask the government to do about its immigration policy?

Why were workers and employers in conflict?

During 1919, many veterans began to support unions. Union leaders said that many companies had made large profits from the war. They claimed that the rich were taking advantage of workers by paying them 55

Winnipeg General Strike, 1919.

low wages. According to the union leaders, the rich **capitalists** were the real enemy. Workers were asked to join one big union to fight the enemy. Unions called for **general strikes** in several cities. Workers demanded the right to have unions and to negotiate for higher pay.

The biggest strike was in Winnipeg from May 15 to June 26, 1919. 56
About 35 000 workers went on strike. These included construction workers, city police, and postal workers. The Strike Committee asked the police to return to work. Employers, the city council, and the federal government opposed the strike. Some non-union people organized to keep law and order. They accused the strikers of being **communists**. On June 19, 10 strike leaders were arrested.

On June 21, veterans and others marched in support of the strike. 57
The North-West Mounted Police were called to stop the march. One man was shot dead. Many were injured. Thirty-one more strikers were arrested. The workers called off the strike.

The strike was broken. Some strike leaders were put in jail. Others 58
were deported under the Immigration Act. However, some of the leaders were later elected to government positions, giving Manitoba workers a voice in government.

Workers protest the trials of the leaders of the Winnipeg General Strike.

QUESTIONS

a. Why did unions become more active after the war?
b. How did the government try to resolve the conflict between workers and employers in the Winnipeg General Strike? Is this a good way to resolve conflict?

Why were farmers dissatisfied?

Farmers were upset because wheat prices fell quickly after the war 59
ended. There were fewer markets and lower prices for all farm products. During the war, farmers had borrowed money to buy more land and machines to increase production for the war effort. Now they could not repay their loans. They wanted the federal government to reduce taxes and lower their costs. When the government refused, the farmers organized their own political party. As members of the National Progressive Party, they hoped to have some control over government decisions about important farm issues.

QUESTIONS

a. Why were farmers angry at the government?
b. How did they resolve their conflict with the government?
c. Do you think this was a successful method of resolving the problem? Why? Why not?

Why were English Canadians and French Canadians in conflict?

French Canadians were still bitter over the conscription issue. They felt betrayed by Borden and his Conservative government. When Borden retired, the Conservatives chose Arthur Meighen as their new leader. Meighen was the man who had first started the plan for conscription in 1917. French Canadians hated him for that. They expressed their feelings in the next election. 60

What happened to the government?

In the 1921 federal election, the workers, farmers, and French Canadians voted against Meighen and the Conservatives. Mackenzie King and the Liberal Party won most of the seats in the House of Commons. The political parties started by the farmers won the second highest number and the Conservatives won the third highest number of seats. 61

The economy was weak, and Canadians were divided. The conflicts that surfaced in World War I would continue for many years. 62

CHAPTER SEVEN

Good Times and Bad in the 1920s and 1930s

Between 1919 and 1930 American businesses had built or had bought 500 factories in Canada.

This chapter is about times of prosperity and times of great poverty in Canada during the 1920s and 1930s. You will learn about some of the factors that cause a country's economy to prosper or fail. You will discover how Canadian society changed as a result of the economic conditions of these times.

What happened to the Canadian economy after the war?

Canada's war effort had **stimulated** the economy. Production of goods had increased to supply the Allied powers. But for several years after the war, the economy **slumped**. There was no longer a demand for munitions or extra food. Prices for farm products fell. Factories and farms were producing less. Returning soldiers needed jobs, but companies did not need as many workers. Unemployment was high. There was a recession. By 1924, however, good times returned. There was a period of economic **boom**; during the boom years, prosperity changed Canadians' ideas and lives in many ways. 1

Why did prosperity return to Canada?

By 1924, export sales were helping the economy grow again. Countries around the world were buying many Canadian products. But the exports were not manufactured goods. They were **raw materials**, such as wheat, wood, and fish. 2

The important new industries that exported products were mining and pulp and paper. The demand for these products caused these industries to grow. For example, by 1929, Canada controlled more than 64 per cent of the world's pulp and paper trade! Employment increased. More than 210 000 Canadians worked at companies to produce pulp and paper. Almost all of this paper was exported. 3

American **investment** and companies caused much of Canada's economic growth. By 1930, Americans owned more than 1000 factories in Canada. In these years, American investment in Canada more than doubled, creating more factories and businesses — and more jobs for Canadians. Canadians had money to spend during the boom years. 4

QUESTIONS

a. What caused the growth of the Canadian economy?
b. Do you know the names of some American companies that invest in Canada today?
c. If American companies decided to leave Canada, what would happen to:
   i. the number of companies in Canada;
   ii. the number of jobs Canadians have;
   iii. the amount of money Canadians have to spend?

Did all Canadians become prosperous?

British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec became the richest provinces in the 1920s. They had a lot of forests to cut for wood and paper and plenty of natural mineral resources. The Prairie provinces suffered from low wheat prices. Farmers were unable to make very much money. The economies of the Maritime provinces did not improve either. Companies and factories in New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia could not compete with manufacturers in other parts of Canada. High transportation costs to move their products to markets in Central Canada increased the prices of their products. 5

Only 143 000 of 10 million Canadians made more than $2500 a year in the 1920s.

Only a few Canadians were getting richer. The average wage across the country was hundreds of dollars below what the government thought was necessary to support a family. Foreign investment did not bring everyone prosperity. However, some Canadians had money to spend during this boom period. How would they spend it? 6

How did prosperity affect the economy?

Because some people had money to spend, companies began to make new products. When Canadians bought these products, the companies increased production. Companies expanded. They thought if some Canadians were ready to spend money, then the companies should make more products **available** for them to buy. To increase production, the companies had to build more factories and hire more workers. Soon, these new workers would also have enough money to buy new products. Many people thought this **cycle** of spending, increased production, increased employment, and increased spending would continue forever. 7

Many companies borrowed the money to expand, by selling **shares** in their companies to other people. Anyone could buy shares. Shares were bought and sold on the **stock market**. Many Canadians invested their money in the new companies in the 1920s. Stockbrokers earned money buying and selling shares for other people. 8

Figure 7.1 How Economies Become Prosperous

Standard Stock Exchange, 1910.

Share prices went up when a company sold more products and made a profit. Share prices went down if sales fell and the company lost money. The price of shares went up and down. For investors, the trick to making "easy money" was to buy shares of companies when their prices were low and to sell the shares when their prices were high. "Buy low, sell high" was the favourite saying of people "playing the stock market." 9

QUESTIONS

a. What did companies do when people had money to spend?
b. How did this affect employment?
c. How did increased employment affect spending?
d. Do you think this cycle could continue forever?
e. What could stop this cycle?

How did prosperity affect life in Canada?

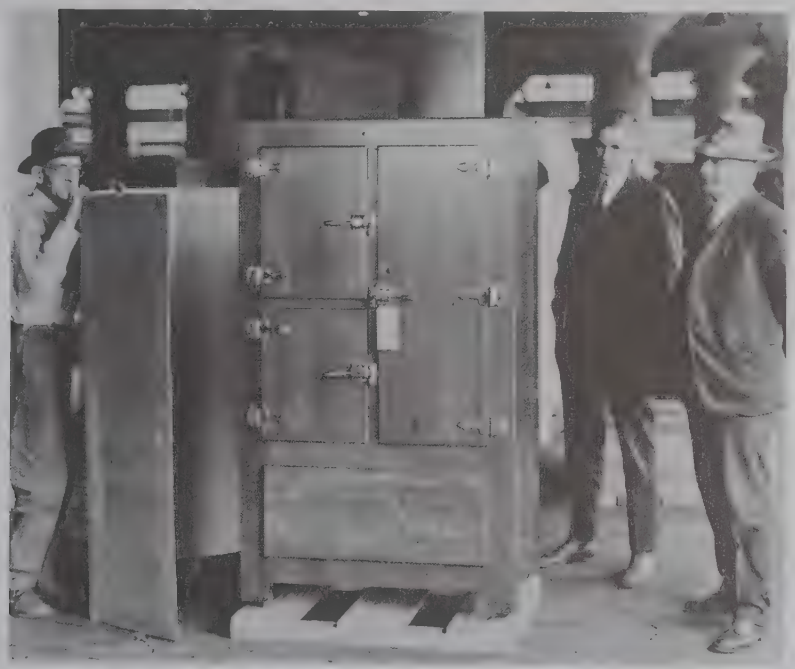
Life in Canada changed in many ways. New **inventions** became widely available. People bought many new products that saved time and made life a lot easier for them. Many of the new products made the world seem smaller: you could travel more easily and pass information more quickly. Canadian culture began to change as a result of the new conveniences available. 10

What products did Canadians buy?

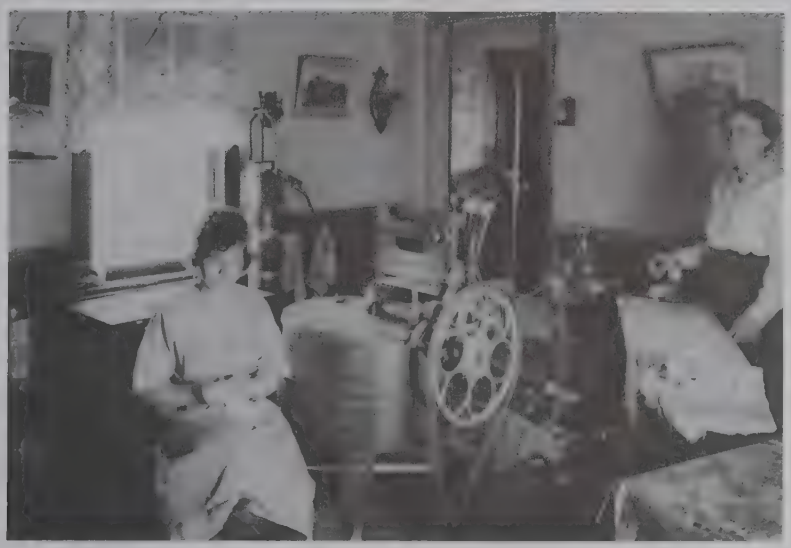
For those Canadians who could afford the new products, life changed. If you had a refrigerator, you had to shop for food only once a week 11

instead of every day; if you had an electric washing machine, you no longer had to wash clothes by hand; if you had an electric stove, cooking was much easier.

Travel and communication products made life faster and easier. Cars were very popular. Planes made it possible to travel and transport people and products to northern Canada. Telephones were convenient. If you had a phone, you could talk to people rather than visiting them. 12



This was one of the first refrigerators made in 1921.



These were modern conveniences in 1921. The electric washing machine was made in Hespeler, Ontario. Notice how the electric iron is connected by a ceiling drop cord.

1

2

3

4

1 People enjoyed seeing Canada from an observation car on the CPR, 1922.
2 This D-45 McLaughlin automobile is decorated to celebrate July 1, 1920.
3 Advertisements for new products appeared in magazines like *The Saturday Evening Post*.
4 Young couple dancing to the music of early radio in 1920.

People wrote fewer letters. Although many homes still did not have a phone, there was always one at the local store if you needed to make a phone call. By 1926, there was one telephone for every 11 Canadians.

A new car cost around $600, and Canadians wanted cars. If you had 13
a car, life was easier. By 1928, 50 per cent of Canadians owned a car! In the 1920s, there were 17 Canadian-owned car companies! Cars brought jobs: people were needed to make cars, repair them, and build roads.

Another new product was the radio. People called the radio "some- 14
thing for nothing." If you could afford a radio, you did not need to go out for entertainment; you could stay at home, listen to popular songs, and practise all the new dance steps. You did not need to go to theatres for concerts. You could listen to the hockey game instead of going to

the arena. You could find out what was happening in other parts of Canada or the world before the daily newspaper arrived at your door. In 1923, 10 000 homes had radios. By 1929, that number had increased to 297 000! The most popular radio show in the 1920s was "Hockey Night in Canada."

Other inventions that became available to Canadians in the 1920s were record players and movies. If you had a record player, you could dance to the latest tunes. Some of the dances that were popular in the 1920s were the tango, the Charleston, the fox-trot, and the turkey-trot. Dance clubs became more popular than ever before. 15

In the early 1920s, there were 451 theatres in Canada. Movies had no sound and were in black and white. But people loved them. By 1928, the number of theatres had more than doubled, and "talkies" appeared (movies in which actors spoke). These movies were even more popular. 16

QUESTION

a. How did new products affect the lives of Canadians? Begin your answers like this: "If you had a ..., ..."

How did the new communications industries affect Canadian culture?

Some of the changes had disadvantages. Some Canadians felt that Americans were **influencing** Canadians too much. When radio **broadcasts** first began, there were many Canadian radio stations across the country. But more Canadians began listening to the American radio 17

This is one type of radio people enjoyed listening to in 1924.

Benny Goodman was a popular American musician. This performance from the Waldorf Astoria in New York was broadcast on radio for home enjoyment.

stations. American radio station **signals** were much stronger and Canadians thought their programs were more interesting. Canadian stations could not compete. By the end of the 1920s, 80 per cent of Canadians who had radios were tuned to U.S. stations. They listened to American music, played by American musicians.

Some Canadians wanted Canadians to read Canadian magazines, 18
see Canadian movies and plays, and listen to Canadian radio programs. This would mean that Canadians would be writing, making movies, acting, and entertaining for other Canadians. We could all share our Canadian culture. But Canadians seemed to prefer American magazines and movies. By 1929, Canada's top 1100 theatres showed almost only American-made movies. None of the American-made movies about Canada were true-to-life. But Canadians paid to watch these movies anyway, and Americans made the money.

The words "He shoots! He scores!" were the trademark of Foster Hewitt, who started broadcasting hockey games in 1923.

Some Canadians worried about Canadian sports. In the 1920s, Cana- 19
dians were very proud of our athletes' successes against other countries. Women athletes were especially successful. Canada had the "greatest team that ever stepped out on a basketball floor," the Edmonton Grads. Basketball was a game invented by a Canadian! Canada had Olympic gold-medal winners in running, high jump, boating, and basketball throughout the 1920s. Canadians became even more worried when Americans started to buy National Hockey League teams. They were afraid that the big-spending Americans would take away Canada's most popular sport. The American sport of baseball had already replaced **lacrosse** as Canada's most popular summer sport.

Canadian fears about American influence were well-founded. In cer- 20
tain parts of Canada during the 1920s, Canadians were leaving to live in the United States. Many farmers from Quebec and workers from Ontario and Nova Scotia moved there. Some Canadians thought this was a result of the increasing economic ties to the United States. They feared what would happen if the cultural ties increased too. They didn't want Canadians to be exactly the same as Americans; but in entertainment and fashions, there was little difference.

QUESTIONS

a How do Americans influence Canadian culture today?
b. Do a class survey. Record the titles of the most recent movies and TV shows that each person has seen. What percentage was made in Canada? By Canadians? About Canada?

What happened when the boom ended?

The prosperity of the 1920s did not last very long. Economic condi- 21
tions went downhill once again. This happened both in Canada and in the United States. This was a period of great hardship for most people. It was called "The Great Depression."

"A Depression is when you have to tighten your belt."

T.C. Douglas

What were the causes of the Great Depression?

Companies had borrowed too much money in the 1920s. They had sold shares of their companies to investors, then used the money to make more products. But incomes were low, and Canadians could not afford to buy all the products made. Farmers had also borrowed money to plant more crops. But crop prices were low and farmers could not repay their loans. To make matters worse, other countries had raised their **tariffs** on imported goods. This meant that Canadians could not export as many products as they had before. Now Canada was left with more products than it could sell; **supply** was greater than **demand**! Products that cannot be sold have no value. Canadian prosperity and riches were declining. This was called a "bust"! In 1929, the economy slowed down. 22

Share prices in all companies fell. On October 29, 1929, many people who had purchased stock on credit **panicked.** They tried to sell their shares at the same time to pay for the stock. No one could sell their shares, because no one was buying. Many people went **broke**. Prices on the stock market had collapsed. This was called the Stock Market Crash. 23

"Panic is when you don't have a belt to tighten and your pants fall down."

T.C. Douglas

Many of the farmers and companies that had borrowed money were in trouble. They could not sell their products. They could not repay their **debts**. Companies and farmers started to go **bankrupt** in 1930. 24

Companies that went bankrupt had to lay off their workers. As a result, the number of unemployed people increased. Many had no money at all. Companies that did not go bankrupt sold fewer products because people had less money to spend. **Consequently**, more workers were laid off. The number of unemployed workers increased every year from 1929 to 1933. The economy was in trouble. There was less wealth for Canadian people to share. 25

How did the Depression affect families?

Some Canadians lost everything. The expressions "losing your shirt" and "losing the shirt off your back" came from these times when people lost everything they owned. The prosperity of the 1920s had led many people to think that good times were going to last forever. They had borrowed money to buy products, like cars, radios, houses, and especially stocks. When workers lost their jobs, they **fell into arrears** with their payments. If they stayed in arrears, the banks **repossessed** the goods. If they were in arrears with their mortgage payments, the bank could repossess the house. If they fell into arrears with their rent, the landlord could **evict** them from their home. Many families ended up on the street. 26

Life for unemployed workers and their families was very hard. People turned to their relatives, friends, and neighbours for help. Soon many of them were unemployed too. Without jobs and money, evictions increased, and there were soon many homeless families. Single 27

Family evictions like this one were a familiar sight during the Depression.

people and families started to live in tents. Everyone worried about basic food and shelter. To solve the problems of food and shelter, the government offered **relief**.

28 People were embarrassed to be on relief. To get relief, unemployed families were not allowed to own cars or radios or to have telephones. Sometimes, family members had to work on parks or roads to receive relief. Families received either vouchers or a small amount of money to buy food, fuel, and to pay the rent.

29 Milk and meat were expensive and few people could afford them. There was no money for new clothes. Clothes were patched and **mended**. Children wore **hand-me-downs**. Shoes and boots were a real problem, especially in the winter. Many children had to stay home from school because they did not have winter coats or boots. Many families wrote to Prime Minister R.B. Bennett asking for help. There was nothing else they could do. People were **desperate**. Canadians had never experienced such bad economic times! During the boom years, no one had thought this would ever happen.

These women are mending and patching clothing for families that were desperate.

How did the Depression affect single men and women?

Single men and women could not apply for relief. As a result, many single men wandered all over the country by jumping on the railcars when no one was looking. They would "ride the rods" and jump off the trains wherever they thought they might find work. They took jobs anywhere, doing anything. Single women had very few choices; the poorer they became, the less chance they had of getting a job. 30

The government tried to help people by giving them work. These men are working on road construction as part of a relief project.

A LETTER TO PRIME MINISTER BENNETT

Hamilton, Ontario 1934

Dear Sir:

I am writing you as a last resource to see if I cannot, through your aid, obtain a position and at last, after a period of more than two years, support myself and enjoy again a little independence.

The fact is: this day I am faced with starvation and I see no possible means of counteracting or even averting it temporarily! . . .

I have received a high-school and Business-college education and I have had experience as a Librarian. My business career has been limited to Insurance, Hosiery, and Public Stenography, each time in the capacity of Bookkeeper and Stenographer-briefly, General Office work. . . .

When the Sanderson-Marwick Co., Ltd., went out of business I had saved a little money and there being no work there for me I came to Hamilton. Since then I have applied to every position that I heard about but there were always so many girls who applied that it was impossible to get work. So time went on and my clothing became very shabby. I was afraid to spend the little I had to replenish my wardrobe. Always the fear was before me that I would fail to get the position and then I would be without food and a roof over my head in a short time. Many prospective employers just glanced at my attire and shook their heads and more times than I care to mention I was turned away without a trial. I began to cut down on my food and I obtained a poor, but respectable, room at $1 per week.

First I ate three very light meals a day; then two and then one. During the past two weeks I have eaten only toast and drunk a cup of tea every other day. In the past fortnight I have lost 20 pounds and the result of this deprivation is that I am so very nervous that I could never stand a test along with one, two and three hundred girls. Through this very nervousness I was ruled out of a class yesterday. Today I went to an office for an examination and the examiner just looked me over and said; "I am afraid Miss, you are so awfully shabby I could never have you in my office.". . .

Day after day I pass a delicatessen and the food in the window looks oh, so good! So tempting and I'm so hungry!

Yes I am very hungry and the stamp which carries this letter to you will represent the last three cents I have in this world, yet before I will stoop to dishonour my family, my character or my God I will drown myself in the Lake. However, I do not hint that I have the slightest intention of doing this for I am confident that you will either be able to help me find employment or God will come to my aid.

But in the meantime my clothing is getting shabbier and I am faced with the prospect of wearing the same heavy winter dress, that has covered me all winter, during the coming summer.

Oh please sir, can you do something for me? Can you get me a job anywhere in the Dominion of Canada? I have not had to go on relief during this depression but I cannot get relief even here. Moreover it

is a job I want and as long as I get enough to live I shall be happy again.

I have tried to get work at anything and everything from housework up but I have been unsuccessful and now I am going to starve and be in debt to my landlady. I wouldn't mind if I could just lay down and die but to starve, oh its terrible to think about. . . .

From the Bennett Papers

How did the Depression affect recent immigrants?

Most Canadians were of British or French descent. Many feared that people who spoke different languages and practised other religions would weaken British and French culture. They thought that too many immigrants were being allowed to come to Canada. Even before the Depression, some felt that immigrants took jobs from other Canadians. They demanded that the government change its immigration policies. The government responded by **restricting** and **excluding** certain groups of people, such as Asians and Jews. 31

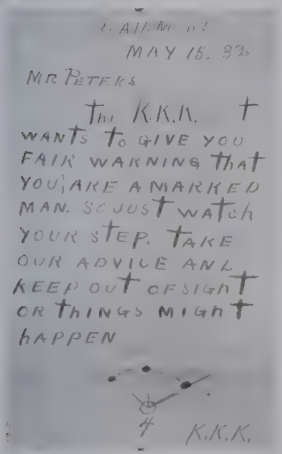
As one Toronto suburban newspaper put it,
"The taxpayers have enough to do to look after their needy citizens and should be protected against foreigners coming here to seek relief—Deport them at once!"

Throughout Canada in the 1920s, even though times were good, groups sprang up to **protest against** the arrival of "foreign" immigrants. Some political organizations with **anti-**immigrant ideas were established in parts of Canada; for example, the **Ku Klux Klan (KKK)** specialized in anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish, and anti-immigrant ideas; the **Fascists** and the **Nazis** were mostly anti-Semitic. None of these groups received much support from Canadians. But their presence meant trouble. 32

While few Canadians joined these groups, many listened to their ideas and **approved** of what they heard. Canadians who disapproved of these organizations sometimes came into conflict with those who supported them. There were **riots** in several Canadian cities. These anti-immigrant feelings continued into the Depression. When money became tight, people's worries and fears increased even more. 33

Immigration fell to very low levels during the Depression. Those who did come faced the same difficulties as everyone else, but they did not **qualify** for relief. They were **deported** instead. 34

1 A threatening letter from the Ku Klux Klan.
2 Members of the Ku Klux Klan in Kingston, Ontario, 1927.


MAY 15. 32

MR PETERS

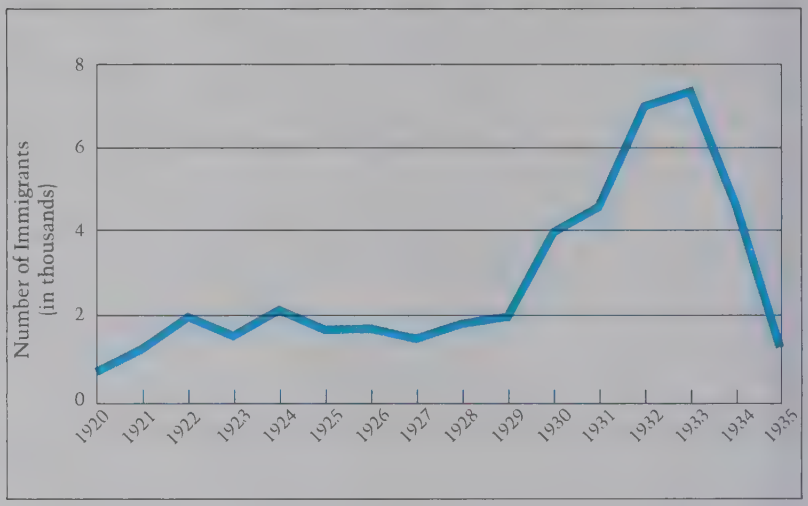
THE K.K.K. WANTS TO GIVE YOU FAIR WARNING THAT YOU ARE A MARKED MAN. SO JUST WATCH YOUR STEP. TAKE OUR ADVICE AND KEEP OUT OF SIGHT OR THINGS MIGHT HAPPEN

K.K.K.

1

2

Figure 7.2 Number of Immigrants Deported, 1920-1935



Source: Roberts, B. Whence They Came: Deportation from Canada , 1900-1935. (Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1944).

QUESTIONS

a. Why were some Canadians worried about new immigrants coming to Canada?
b. How did these worries affect the Canadian government's immigration policy?
c. Why did the number of deportations increase during the Depression?

How did the Depression affect farmers?

Farmers on the southern prairies suffered most of all. In addition to low grain prices, the people faced **natural disasters**. For most of the 1930s, the Prairie provinces suffered severe **drought**. It was dry. Very little rain fell; when it did fall, it was not during the growing season. The land dried up and the soil cracked. The wind blew the dry soil into black dust storms. These storms were so severe that many people were trapped inside their homes. Then, another natural disaster appeared — **grasshoppers**. Large grasshoppers ate many of the plants that had managed to grow. 35

The drought and the grasshoppers did not help the price of wheat. There was too much wheat on the world market. Prices fell from $1.60 a bushel in 1929 to 38 cents a bushel in 1933. The average income in Saskatchewan fell from $478 to $135. By April, 1933, 1.5 million Canadians were on relief. People were frustrated and angry; others lost hope. 36

> "There had not been a drop of rain ... this year and practically a drought for two and a half years.... The farmers in these areas are already in desperate circumstances. I find that only about half of them have seeded and a considerable portion of that seed has blown out. The soil has drifted completely over fences and to a depth of two feet on one road that I travelled last year." *A.C. Stewart*

You look out and you see this great cloud of dust coming and then you're in it and you can hardly see twenty feet ahead. The grit gets into your nose and mouth and into the houses, drifting under the doors and windows.

A prairie farmer

But grasshoppers. Trillions. They would black out the sky and when they passed, nothing would be left. I've seen an ordinary kitchen broom leaning up against the side of a granary where we were crushing oats and when the hoppers were finished, all that was left of that broom was the handle and you couldn't tell it had been a handle because it was so chewed up except for the metal band which kept the bristles held together. Grasshoppers didn't eat machinery, but by God, I've seen them eat the leather off the seat of a John Deere tractor.

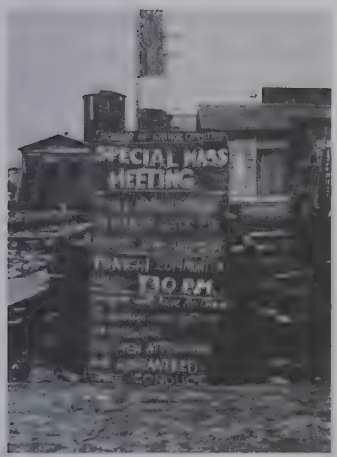
A prairie farmer

How did the Depression affect workers?

Workers during the Depression faced factory closings, layoffs, and pay cuts. Wages were low, and working conditions became unsafe. Women were paid less than men. Wages were cut. Conditions were terrible. 37

Because getting a job was hard, many Canadians did not want to join unions. It was dangerous for workers to complain or strike because companies could replace them easily. Union membership decreased in the early 1930s. People joined unions and went on strike only if working conditions were very bad and wages very low. Then, employers would use the police to keep the businesses open and hire unemployed workers to replace strikers. Workers tried to protect themselves in hard economic times through unions, but employers and governments opposed them. 38

Some workers tried to form very large unions of workers in the same industry, even if they worked for different companies. They hoped that these unions would be strong enough to fight for workers' rights to **minimum wages** that employers must pay. They also hoped to prevent employers from having so much control over workers' lives. Industrial unions slowly organized in the mining, forestry, electrical, and automotive industries. 39



Workers in Flin Flon, Manitoba, took a risk when they went on strike during the Depression.

> "We got 15 cents an hour painting those broom handles and the minimum wage ... was 35 cents an hour. Here we were making 15 cents. There were about 300 men working for Mohawk at the time and they wanted to go on strike, they wanted the difference between what they were getting and what they should have got by law. The directors called a meeting about this strike business and the superintendent told them, 'Let 'em all quit! I can replace 'em all by tomorrow morning if they do.'"
>
> *A worker during the Depression.*

QUESTIONS

a. Why did employers feel that they needed to cut wages during the Depression?
b. Why didn't people join unions to protect themselves?
c. What is the minimum wage in your province today?

What were the political effects of the Depression?

The Depression caused many people to turn to the government for help. When the government did not help them, many people started to think differently about the government and the existing political parties. This was a time of great political change in Canada. 40

How did the government try to help Canadians?

William Lyon Mackenzie King was prime minister for most of the 1920s. Like other Canadians, he had not seen the Great Depression coming. Even when world stock markets crashed in October 1929, King did not believe the problem was serious. It was normal for the Canadian economy to slow down in the winter, and every winter workers were laid off. King thought the winter of 1929 was no different from other years. 41

Many municipal governments asked King for help with relief payments. He refused. He told the cities to ask their provincial governments for help. He called an election for July 28, 1930. King and the Liberal Party expected to win. The voters surprised them. Canadians wanted a change in government; they wanted a government that would pay greater attention to their problems. 42

William Lyon Mackenzie King giving a speech at an election rally.

Richard Bedford Bennett was Prime Minister of Canada from 1930-35.

Richard Bennett and the Conservative Party promised to give the 43
provinces $20 million toward relief payments for unemployed workers and their families. They won the election. They raised protective tariffs against foreign products to the highest levels. They hoped that this would get Canadian companies and farms producing and selling more goods. They started trade negotiations with other friendly countries. Then, the Bennett government waited. Bennett believed that the economy would fix itself.

The economy needed help; it did not fix itself. It continued to shrink 44
and fall. Bennett tried to increase trade with Britain. He believed that if Canada could **resume** exporting products, companies would resume production, and employment and spending would increase. But the changes **had little effect**. A Canadian government had never experienced a depression as severe as this one. It did not know what to do. The Bennett government tried to help the provinces provide food, shelter, and clothing for the unemployed.

In October 1932, the Department of National Defence opened **camps** 45
for single, unemployed, and homeless men. By 1935, more than 200 camps housed 170 000 men. Often the living conditions were crowded and dirty, but each man received a set of workclothes, soap and a towel, a bed, three meals a day, and the use of a shower, toilet, and a place

Q. What was the chief complaint you had about the camps?
A. The isolation. The feeling of being a forgotten person. You'd never be able to have any money, or a job, or a home. No music, no entertainment. Just a diet and a bunk to sleep in. Every day the same. ***Witness before the Royal Commission***

The Bennett Buggy. People could not afford gasoline so they used oxen or horses to pull their cars.

to do laundry. But the camps did not provide what Canadians really wanted — jobs. The men worked, but it was unnecessary work created to keep them busy. People became **impatient** and frustrated. Canadians wanted change.

QUESTIONS

a. Who was the prime minister of Canada in the 1920s? What did his government do to solve the effects of the Depression?
b. Why did Canadians want change in the government? How do we know they wanted change?
c. Who was the new prime minister? What did his government do to solve the effects of the Depression?

How did Canadians show their desire for change?

In 1935, the unemployed began a protest in the camps of British Columbia. The single men were **fed up** and frustrated with the **boring** life in the camps. The government, they thought, had forgotten about them. They wanted real jobs that paid real wages, not just soap and three meals a day. A strike was organized. About 1800 men left the camps to demonstrate in Vancouver. 46

The strikers prepared a list of demands. First, they wanted a 50-cent-a-day minimum wage. Second, they wanted safer working conditions. Third, they demanded that the government start a system of unemployment insurance. Last, they wanted a guarantee that the men in the camps could keep their voting rights. The government ignored their demands. In **desperation**, about 1200 men jumped on freight trains 47

These unemployed men are receiving food in the early stages of the relief program.

Men from unemployment relief camps climb aboard the CPR to start the On-to-Ottawa trek.

going east. "On to Ottawa!" they yelled. They were **determined** to take their demands to Prime Minister Bennett.

The men were well-organized. Many Canadians supported them in towns along the railway line, giving them food and wishing them success in Ottawa. It was called the "On-to-Ottawa-Trek." Bennett was nervous. He was afraid that more men would join the "trekkers." He

48

Figure 7.3 Route of the On-to-Ottawa Trek

Regina on July 1, 1935.

ordered the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) to stop them in Regina, Saskatchewan. Eight men were invited to meet the Prime Minister to present their demands. Bennett rejected the demands and refused to make changes.

On July 1, 1935, the RCMP were ordered to arrest the leaders. When 49
the trekkers reached Regina, 500 police attacked them. One police officer was killed, and 39 were injured; 39 trekkers were injured, 120 were arrested, and 8 were sent to jail. Most of the men returned to British Columbia. Canadians were tired and frustrated by the Depression. The On-to-Ottawa trekkers did what many Canadians wanted to do — march on the government and demand changes.

QUESTIONS

a. What were the trekkers' demands?
b. Why did many Canadians support the On-to-Ottawa trekkers?
c. Why do you think the government used force against them?

How did Bennett react to the country's frustration?

Bennett had started to change his policy in 1934. He had introduced 50
new laws to help farmers sell their products and had set up the Bank of Canada. The weak economy and the rise of the protest groups and new political parties worried him. He felt that he had to take some action to win the next election. What plan could his government come up with that would get him back Canadians' support?

In January 1935, Bennett made five radio broadcasts to the Cana- 51
dian people. He **admitted** that the old style of government had failed; that a sick economy could no longer look after itself. He admitted that

the government had to control some parts of business so that Canadian workers could also live comfortably. He promised that the government would make laws to control big business, increase taxes on the rich, and lower farm debts. He also promised to introduce minimum wages, the eight-hour workday, unemployment insurance, and better old age pensions. These were the demands of the On-to-Ottawa trekkers and more! He called his plans "The New Deal" after the slogan used by the American President, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Canadians were shocked. Did Bennett, the millionaire, now care 52
about average workers? Or was he just making wild promises that he never really meant to keep so that he could win the next election? It did not matter. Canadians now knew that change in government was possible. Their demands for change had forced the political parties to think about the average person's real needs.

How did Canadians react to Bennett's promises?

In the 1935 election, Canadian voters said "No" to Bennett and the 53
Conservatives and voted for Mackenzie King and the Liberals. The new Prime Minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King, moved slowly between 1935 and 1939. His government did increase spending on **public works projects** and prepared an unemployment insurance system. The economy began to improve a little. But the Depression did not end until the beginning of World War II. Prosperity finally returned in the 1940s. With it came new horrors.

QUESTIONS

a. What did Bennett promise in the election?
b. What did the Canadian people learn in the Depression years?

CASE STUDY

Jews in Canada

Jews have had a long history in Canada. The first Jews settled here during the years of French colonial rule. Jewish immigration remained slow but steady. In 1901, there were about 16 000 Jews in Canada. By 1931, their number had increased to about 155 000. While they lived in all parts of Canada, most were located in the larger cities of central Canada. Toronto was home to 45 000 Jews.

Jews faced hardship and prejudice in their new home. But, unlike many immigrant groups, this was not new to them. Most immigrants came from countries where they were the cultural majority: most of the people spoke the same language and practised the same religion. Many of the immigrants who came to Canada experienced prejudice only when they arrived in Canada. Jews, on the other hand, were never a majority in the countries they had left. Although the situation was better in Canada than in some countries, anti-Semitism was common in Canada, too.

Unfortunately for Jews, anti-Semitism was at its peak in Canada when Jews

Three concentration camp survivors show the numbers that the Nazis branded on their arms for identification purposes.

In this town, the Nazis killed 2500 people because they considered them inferior.

most needed to escape from Europe. After 1933, the German leader, Adolf Hitler, and the Nazi Party began to persecute Jewish people. Hitler wanted all Jews out of Europe. In Germany and other parts of Europe, Jews had no rights. Many thousands of Jews applied to Canada and other countries. Few countries would accept them.

The Depression and anti-immigrant feelings that went with it made newcomers unpopular. The Department of Immigration refused to let Jews into Canada, even though they knew that in Germany Jews suffered many forms of discrimination. The head of the Canadian Department of Immigration, Frederick Blair, was an anti-Semite. He knew he was within the rules of the Canadian government to restrict Jewish entry to Canada. He was also confident that the government and people of Canada would support his decision.

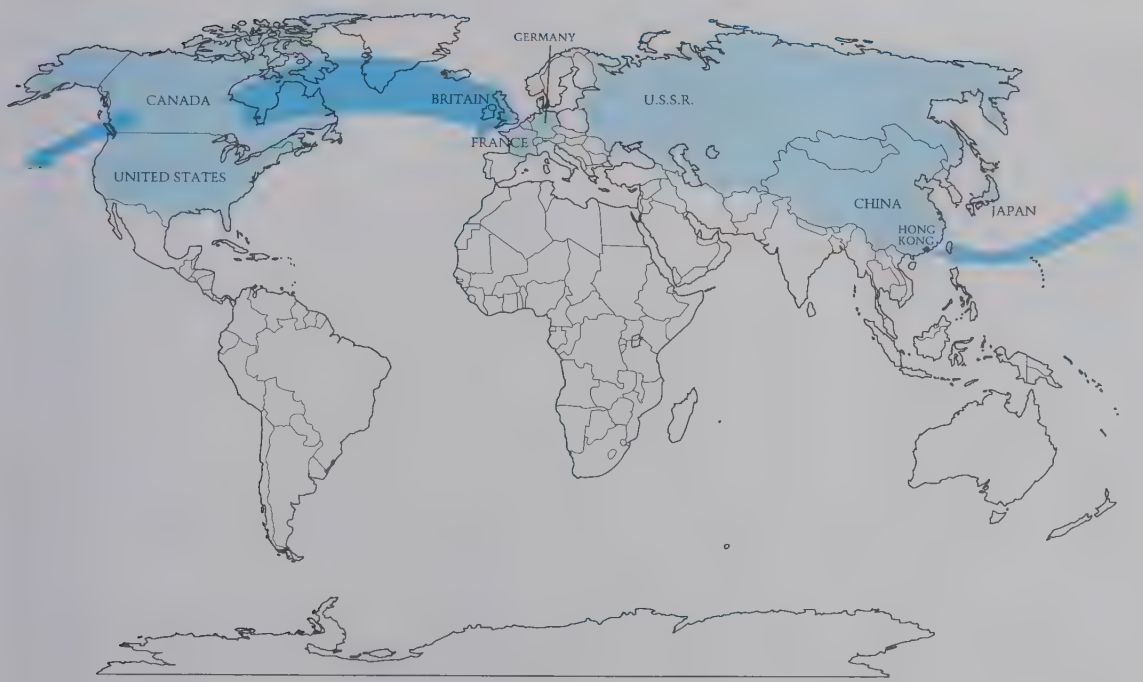
Blair did not stop there. The Department of Immigration made up new rules that made it harder for Jews to get into Canada. In the end, very few Jews were allowed into Canada. Between 1933 and 1945, fewer than 5000 were admitted. World War II started in 1939, and Jewish emigration stopped.

In 1941, Hitler decided to get rid of all the Jews in Europe: he started a program of mass murder in all the countries where Germans were in power. We call this terrible event the Holocaust, which means "a huge fire that destroys everything." Six million Jews were murdered. Canadian Jews waited in fear and frustration for word about their friends and relatives.

After the war, when it was too late for many, the Canadian immigration rules were relaxed. Many people in Europe had no home to return to, and they were allowed to enter Canada in large numbers. Many of them were Jews.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Canada and World War II: 1939-1945



In this chapter you, will find out how Canada became involved in World War II, how Canadians contributed to the war overseas and at home, how the war ended, and how the war changed Canada.

QUESTIONS

a. Who was in World War I? Who do you think was in World War II?
b. How did Canada contribute to World War I? How do you think Canada contributed to World War II?
c. What other countries did Canada have ties with in World War I? What other countries do you think Canada had ties with in World War II?
d. How did Canadians react to war in World War I? How do you think Canadians would react to war in World War II?
e. What conflicts did World War I create between Canadians? What conflicts do you think World War II created between Canadians?

How did Canada become involved in the War?

In 1918, at the eleventh hour, on the eleventh day, in the eleventh month, the First World War ended. It was called "the war to end all wars." So why was the world at war again 21 years later? Didn't people learn from experience? 1

Allied leaders in Paris after World War I — Vittorio Orlando of Italy (left), David Lloyd George of Great Britain, Georges Clemenceau of France and Woodrow Wilson of the United States.

What did Canadians learn from World War I?

The experience of World War I taught Canadians that participating in big wars had advantages and disadvantages. There were many disadvantages: wars were expensive; wars killed and maimed many young men; and wars created conflicts between groups of Canadians. World War I had created conflicts between English and French Canadians, veterans and civilians, veterans and women workers, employers and workers, and English- or French-speaking Canadians and immigrants. But Canada's role in World War I also had some advantages: the war effort caused Canadian industry to grow and Canada gained respect from other countries as an independent country. Canadians asked themselves, "Was going to war worth it?" 2

In 1939, Canadians asked themselves "Should we go to war again?" "Why are we going to war?" "If we go to war, is it going to be worth it?" Before they could find answers to their questions, Canadians had to learn why World War II started; they also had to weigh these reasons for war against the disadvantages of participating in the war. 3

What were the causes of World War II?

There were four main causes of World War II. Most of them were consequences of the way people in different countries felt at the end of World War I. 4

The first cause was the way Germany felt after losing the war. Germany and the other Central powers had to sign a peace agreement at the end of World War I. This agreement, negotiated in 1919, was called the Treaty of Versailles. The Germans thought this treaty was very unfair to them because it did not allow Germany to have an air force or a navy and reduced their army to 100 000. In addition, it forced Germany to accept responsibility for starting the war. Another **condition** of the treaty was that Germany had to pay $33 billion for damages to other countries. Also, Germany had to give up all the land that it had taken before and during World War I. Finally, Germany had to allow armies of the winning countries to stay in Germany. For all these reasons, many Germans felt that their pride as a nation had been damaged. They felt **humiliated.** They were **bitterly** angry, and they wanted **revenge** for the way the treaty hurt them as a nation. 5

The second cause of World War II was also a result of the Treaty of Versailles. The treaty took away land from Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Germany and used this land to make new countries. Germans hated this condition of the treaty, because German people lived on some of these lands. They did not want to live in the new countries; they wanted to live in Germany. Germany also thought that it was unfair to separate German people; they wanted all Germans to live in the same country. Some Germans wanted to take the lost lands back. The maps on the following page show Europe before and after 1919. 6

The third cause of World War II was a result of the kind of governments that came to power in some European countries after World War I, especially in Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union. These governments had enormous power and wanted to use that power internationally. 7

Italy became a dictatorship, mainly as a result of the Treaty of Versailles. Italians had helped the Allies win World War I, and they thought they should be given more land for their efforts. The treaty did not give them more land, and they felt **cheated**. Many Italians wanted to make their country stronger. They felt a strong leader would do this. They chose Benito Mussolini as their new leader, and he promised to use military force to get more land for Italy. Mussolini became a very powerful **dictator**. He and the Fascists became so powerful that they could attack, **imprison**, or kill any person who disagreed with their ideas. 8

Like Italy, the Soviet Union was also bitter about the Treaty of Versailles. Under the conditions of the treaty, some of the land that it had lost to Germany was used to create new countries, like Poland and Czechoslovakia. In the Soviet Union, in 1917, the **Russian Revolution** had created a new kind of government: a Communist government. In 1927, Josef Stalin became its leader. Like Mussolini, Stalin was a dictator with enormous power. Under his leadership, people who were suspected of being critical of the government were **persecuted**: millions were imprisoned, killed, starved to death or simply vanished. 9

In Germany, Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party came to power as a 10

Figure 8.1 Europe before 1919

Figure 8.2 Europe after 1919

result of both the Treaty of Versailles and the Depression. Germans had a very bad time in the Depression. They were forced to pay money to other countries even though they, like people in Canada and the rest of the world, had few jobs and very poor living conditions. They already felt humiliated and vengeful about losing the war. The Depression made them hungry. Now they wanted a leader: one who promised to solve all their problems; a leader who made them feel proud to be Germans; a leader who would tell them that all their problems were

Hitler (left) with Mussolini in 1941.

caused by other people, like the Jews; a leader who represented strength and power. The new leader in Germany was Adolf Hitler, and he did all these things. He became very powerful, a dictator. He and the Nazi Party of Germany became so powerful that they could attack, imprison, or kill any person who disagreed with their ideas.

The new dictatorships in Europe were looking for ways to make 11
themselves and their countries more powerful. If they said, "Let's go to war!" their people had no choice **but to** follow. And many people, tired of feeling angry and humiliated, were very happy to follow. Many people who disagreed found that it was dangerous to protest: if they did, they were persecuted, imprisoned, or killed.

At the same time in Asia, Japan was trying to increase its power 12
by invading other countries, such as China.

Finally, the fourth cause of World War II was the weakness of the 13
League of Nations. The League of Nations was a group of countries that believed the First World War was "a war to end all wars." It was formed to keep peace in the world after World War I. The League wanted to resolve all conflicts between countries peacefully before wars happened. Members hoped that if conflicts were resolved successfully, countries would not use violence against one another. The League also promised to protect countries that were attacked.

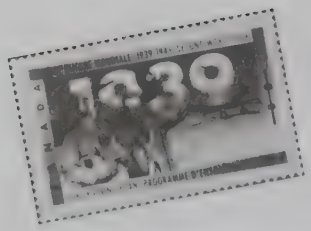
The problem with the League of Nations was that it did not do what 14
it promised. The League failed to keep peace. One reason the League failed was because the great Allied powers — Britain, France, and the United States — were no longer committed to enforcing the Treaty of Versailles or the League Charter. The United States had even refused to join the League in 1919. Instead, these powers thought that they could negotiate with the dictators. The old Allies thought that the aggressors would be satisfied if they gave in to some of their demands. The Allies invented the policy of **appeasement**. They believed that Japan, Italy, and Germany would be satisfied with the land they had already taken and would not continue with their aggression against

Homeless refugees in Chungking, China, watch as their homes burn following Japanese air raids, which killed 5000 people.

other countries. Instead, the aggressors learned very quickly that they could continue their polices of aggressive expansion.

Many other countries like Canada supported this policy of appease- 15
ment. All these countries remembered the horrors of World War I. They did not want to fight another war in Europe. They were more concerned about their internal problems of unemployment and poverty caused by the Great Depression. The aggressive dictators had a great secret ally in the Great Depression. Canadians wanted the Canadian government to solve unemployment problems at home, not to protect China, Ethiopia, Austria, or Czechoslovakia.

During 1938 and 1939, Hitler seized Czechoslovakia. By March 1939, 16
Britain and France were finally becoming worried. Germany was taking too many countries. The German army was getting too powerful. Britain and France promised to defend Poland, if Poland was attacked by Germany. Germany did attack on September 1, 1939. Britain and France declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939. The Second World War had started!



This postage stamp commemorates the Commonwealth Air Training Programme.

King condemns German invasion of Czechoslovakia
March 20, 1939

Chamberlain reveals Britain at war
Sept. 3, 1939

Canada joins in the war
Sept. 10, 1939

German conquest complete: Warsaw falls
Oct. 2, 1939

Emperor Hirohito of Japan.

QUESTIONS

a. What were the four major causes of World War II?
b. What governments do you know that are dictatorships today?
c. How did these dictatorships win power? How do they keep it?

Why were so many countries involved in this war?

Countries in Europe knew that another war was possible after World War I. Therefore, they found allies. Germany and Italy became allies. They were called the "Axis Powers." Germany made a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union. In 1941, Japan joined the Axis Powers. Japan wanted control of Asia and the Pacific Ocean. The Japanese thought that, if they joined the Axis, and the Allies were busy fighting the Axis powers, the only country they would have to fight to gain control of the Pacific was the United States. 17

Britain and France kept their alliance from World War I. They were called the "Allies." Additional support for Britain and France came from countries and colonies with which they had close ties. 18

Canada was independent from Britain but joined the Allies one week after Britain declared war. Even though Canada had signed the Treaty of Versailles, and was recognized as an equal nation by the world community, Canada decided to enter World War II after Britain declared war. Later, in 1941, after Germany attacked the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union joined the Allies. Also in 1941, after Japan attacked Pearl Harbour in Hawaii, the U.S. joined the Allies. 19

QUESTIONS

a. Which continents were involved in the Second World War?

How did Canadians react to news of the war?

Canadians' reaction to news of the war was very different from their reaction in 1914. Then, many people were excited and eager to join the army; this time they were not. In 1938 and 1939, when Germany attacked Austria and Czechoslovakia, Canadians thought Britain might go to war. Most Canadians were worried that they would have to go to war, too. Many did not want to go. They thought that the government should be using its money to create jobs and help the poor, not to fight a war in Europe. Some Canadians thought that the Germans had been treated badly after World War I and that Nazi Germany just wanted the land that was taken away unfairly by the Treaty of Versailles. Prime Minister Mackenzie King did not want Canada to fight another war either. He did not want war to create conflicts between groups of Canadians as World War I had. 20

An anti-conscription rally in Montreal.

But the same conflicts were created: French Canadians did not want 21
Canada to fight. This was a British war; they did not feel any tie to Britain. They did not feel any tie to France, either. Many workers did not want to go to war. They wanted the government to improve their lives at home. However, many men did join the army just to get **three square meals a day**. The Liberal Party wanted to stay out of the war, too. Many Canadians remembered their experience in World War I. They did not want conflicts between groups of Canadians; they did not want Canadian men to die. However, some English Canadians did support Canada going to war. They felt that if Britain was at war, Canada was at war, too.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King resolved the conflict. He decided 22
that the Canadian Parliament would vote on whether to go to war as an ally of Britain. But he promised that Canada's support would be mostly in the form of military equipment and food, not men. He promised that in this war, there would be no conscription for overseas service. Canadians would only fight if they volunteered. The government would not force any Canadian to go overseas. King hoped that this solution would satisfy all groups of Canadians: if men did not want to go war, they would not have to go.

King's solution to the problem satisfied workers and French Cana- 23
dians; it did not satisfy some English Canadians who strongly supported Canada's ties to Britain. The conflict between English Canadians and French Canadians could not be resolved. Canada declared war on Germany on September 10, 1939.

QUESTIONS

a. Who wanted Canada to support Britain? Why?
b. Who did not want Canada to support Britain? Why?
c. What was King's solution? Who did not like his solution?

How did Canadian attitudes change?

Canadian attitudes about the war changed throughout the war years. 24
At the beginning of the war, Canada did not make a full war effort. Canada did as Mackenzie King promised: the government sent airplanes, pilots, food, and munitions. Canadians did not want full involvement. But this changed in 1940. The actions of Nazi Germany forced Canadians to think again about why they were fighting. They also had to **reconsider** whether this war was worth a full effort. Both English and French Canadians supported King when he called for conscription for **home defence**, when Canada was directly threatened by another country; but would both groups support conscription for **overseas service**? French and English Canadians would be able to decide this question only if they knew how Germany was fighting the war in Europe.

How did Germany fight the war?

In 1939, Hitler had made a secret agreement with the Soviet Union. 25
They agreed to divide the country that was between them, Poland. They also agreed not to fight each other. Hitler knew then that the powerful Soviet army would not try to stop him from taking other countries in Europe.

In April 1940, the German army quickly attacked Denmark and Nor- 26
way. On May 10, the invasion of Western Europe began. Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg were invaded and German forces entered France. Hitler called this action ***blitzkrieg***, or "lightning war." Hitler and the Nazi Party kept their promises to the German people: they got back the lands that the Treaty of Versailles had taken away; they had the most powerful army in Europe; they got revenge on the winners of World War I by taking France! Germany had control of almost all of central and western Europe. Hitler tightened his control on the people in each of the countries that Nazi Germany **occupied**. People who opposed the new **Nazi regimes** were persecuted or killed.

After the *blitzkrieg*, Canadians realized that Hitler was not going 27
to stop until he controlled all of Europe, including Britain. Canadians also realized that under Hitler's Nazi system of government, opposition to the government was not allowed. All Canadians valued the right to oppose a government. They did not agree with Nazi Germany's form of dictatorship and began to feel that they had to support a full war effort.

Figure 8.3 The blitzkrieg, *1939-40*

The Nazis thought that **Aryans** were the perfect "race" of human 28
beings; all other groups, especially Jews, Romanies, and other minority groups in Europe, were imperfect, or **inferior** to Aryans. The Nazis did not want "inferior" people to live with or around them. So, in Germany and all the occupied countries, Hitler ordered all "inferior" people to be separated and put into camps. These people were treated by the Nazis as slaves. Hitler and the Nazis established concentration camps and death camps in several countries in Europe. The death camps were set up for mass murder. More than 15 million people from all over Europe, including 6 million Jews, died in the Holocaust.

In November 1940, this industrial city in England was pounded with high explosives during the night. Nazi bombs fell on shops and homes instead of the intended aircraft and munitions factories nearby.

In 1945, near Gardelegen, Germany, civilians dig out 700 hastily buried slave labourers whom the Nazis had massacred. The dead were given a decent burial in a common grave.

As more Canadians realized how dangerous Germany was to the freedom of the world, their view of the war changed. Canadians who had immigrated from the occupied countries before the war started had an even better understanding of what the Nazis were doing. More Canadians began to understand why they were in this war. This war was different. This enemy was a common enemy to the homelands

29

This poster urged Canadians to join in the war effort.

of many Canadians. Groups of Canadians who, in the past, had experienced conflict with each other, started to work together against this common enemy. They participated in Canada's war effort. In 1944, when Mackenzie King broke his promise and ordered conscription, most Canadians accepted it. Most French Canadians felt that King had tried to keep his promise for as long as he could.

QUESTIONS

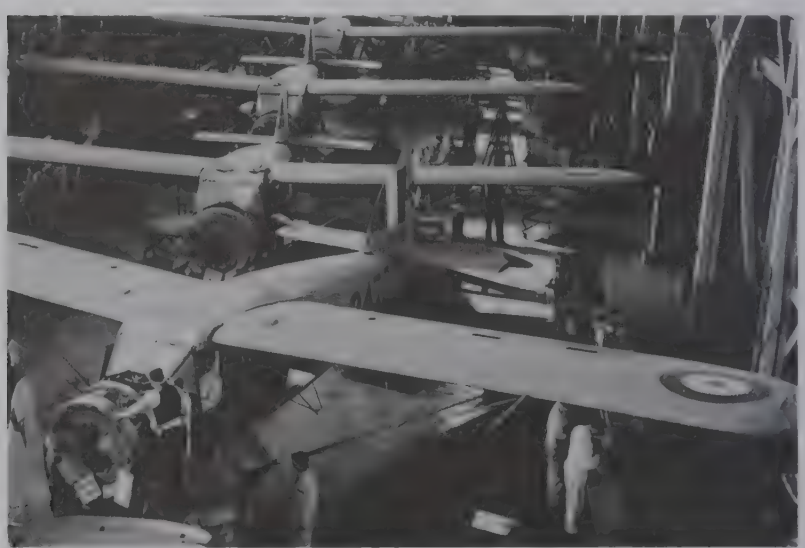
a. Why did Canadians change their opinions about the war in 1941?
b. If you had been living in Canada in 1941, do you think you would have supported a full war effort?

How did Canadians fight the war?

The government decided that Canadians would contribute to the war 30
in three ways. Canada would contribute to the war effort in the air, by sending its planes; on land, by sending soldiers; and at sea, by sending its navy to protect convoys crossing the North Atlantic.

How did Canada fight the war in the air?

In 1939, when Canada first agreed to support Britain and France in 31
the war, Mackenzie King agreed that Canada would train British pilots and **air crew**. King thought that in this way, Canada could contribute to the war effort without sending many Canadians to fight overseas. Airfields and training schools were opened across Canada: 130 000 people were trained to fly planes for the Allies in these schools.



These Norseman aircraft are awaiting engines in Montreal, 1941.

This postage stamp paid tribute to the deeds of RCAF pilots.

The Royal Canadian Air Force was very successful in the war. First, in 1940, they fought in the Battle of Britain. They helped to defend Britain by shooting down many German planes. After this battle, Hitler decided that it would be too dangerous to **invade** Britain. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill thanked all the pilots who had saved Britain from German invasion: "Never ... was so much owed by so many to so few." Second, in 1941 and 1942, the RCAF was successful in flying over Germany and dropping bombs. Third, the RCAF helped provide air cover for the Allied invasion of northern Europe. By the end of the war in 1945, 250 000 Canadians had served in the RCAF.

A World War II bomber crew receiving instructions.

This aerial view shows the damage done by Allied bomber crews to the German Krupp Works in Essen.

How did Canadians fight the war on land?

Canadian soldiers experienced losses early in the war. They were new soldiers and were not very well-prepared. For example, in 1941, Canadian soldiers were sent to help defend the British colony of Hong Kong against the Japanese. Although the Canadian and British **garrison** fought bravely, it was forced to **surrender** on December 25, 1941: Christmas Day. More than 500 Canadian soldiers died in battle or in Japanese prisoner of war camps. Also, in August 1942, Canadian soldiers were sent to Dieppe on the French coast. The attack on Dieppe was a test to see if the Allies could successfully invade France. The Allies also wanted to test the strength of the German defences in France. Dieppe was a **disaster** for the Canadian soldiers. The British Royal Navy landed almost 5000 Canadian soldiers on the Dieppe beaches. German artillery destroyed the British **landing craft, tanks,** and guns. More than 3000 soldiers were killed or wounded. The rest of the soldiers were taken to German prisoner of war camps. 33

By 1943, the Allies were more successful. The United States and 34

Canadian soldiers watch as military equipment is loaded aboard the H.M.T. *Awatea* en route to Hong Kong in October 1941.

These Canadian soldiers did not survive the raid on Dieppe.

the Soviet Union joined the Allies in 1941. Canadian soldiers learned from their **defeats**. By 1943, the Allies had successfully defeated the Axis armies in North Africa. This made it possible for the Allies to invade Italy; 93 000 Canadians were sent to Italy. Canadian soldiers helped the Allies win control: 5700 Canadian soldiers died doing this. Then, in June 1944, 250 000 Canadian soldiers joined other Allied armies in Normandy. The Allied forces were successful in landing in Normandy and taking control of France. The Allies continued to fight for 11 months and succeeded in pushing the German army out of northern France, Belgium, and Holland and back into Germany. By the end of the war, 730 000 Canadians had served in the army.

Thank you Canada. Every five years, the people in Holland decorate their towns like this in honour of their Canadian liberators.

How did Canadians fight the war at sea?

The Canadian navy helped the Allies win control of the Atlantic Ocean. 35
In 1939, Mackenzie King promised Britain and France that Canada would support the war effort by sending military equipment and food supplies. To do this, all of the food and equipment had to be shipped across the Atlantic Ocean. Canadian warships had to protect the supply ships; this was not easy. Germany had 200 **U-boats** or **submarines** in the Atlantic. The U-boats were very successful in sinking Allied ships because nobody knew they were there, under the water, until it was too late.

By 1943, the Royal Canadian Navy and British Navy were winning 36
in the Atlantic. They improved the training of the ships' crews and they developed new electronic equipment, sonar, to find the U-boats before the U-boats attacked. They also began to use Canadian Air Force planes to protect the supply ships from the air. Canada and Britain won the battle of the Atlantic. By the end of the war, 90 000 Canadians had served in the RCN.

By 1945, 1.1 million Canadians had served in the armed forces. 37
Canada had contributed to Allied victories on land, sea, and in the air. Canadians welcomed the news of Hitler's **suicide** and Germany's surrender in May 1945. The war with Germany was over. But there still remained the war with Japan.

How did Canadians contribute to the defeat of Japan?

Canadian scientists played a small role in helping the Americans 38
develop the **atomic bomb**. On August 6, 1945, the United States Air Force dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima in Japan. The Americans dropped a second bomb on Nagasaki on August 9, 1945. The **destruction** caused by these two bombs had never been seen before. The one atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima killed 70 000 people. Most were civilians. The second single bomb dropped on Nagasaki killed 40 000 people. Most were civilians. Many more died later as a result of the effects of radiation. Japan surrendered on August 14, 1945. World War II was over.

VE-Day celebrations in Ottawa on May 8, 1945.

QUESTION

a. How did Canadian military forces contribute to the war effort?

Like many Canadians, this woman working at the Pictou Shipyards helped the war effort at home.

How did Canadians support the war at home?

Canadians at home contributed to the war effort by working in war industries, food production, and through personal efforts. They contributed more during World War II than they had in World War I. 39

How did Canadian industries contribute to the war effort?

Some of the military equipment that the Canadians and the Allies used was produced in Canada. This meant that many Canadians worked in war industries. By 1944, the Canadian government had built 98 new war factories. More than 1 million Canadians worked in war **plants**. During the war, workers in these industries made **vast quantities** of trucks, ships, airplanes, machine guns, artillery, and tanks. The war industries grew very quickly; World War II ended the Great Depression in Canada. There was very little unemployment during the war. Anyone who wanted a job could get one. 40

This bomb trailer is on its way to load Mitchell Bombers in Northern France, 1944.

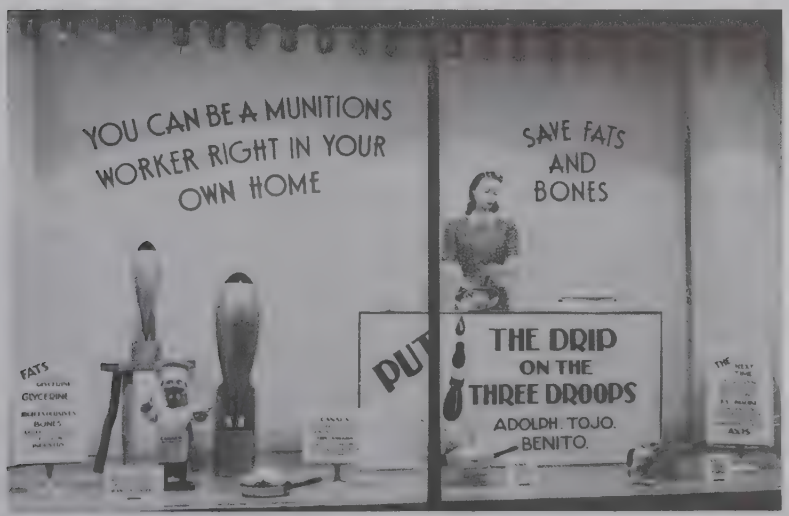
How did the farming and fishing industries contribute to the war effort?

Farms and fisheries also increased production for the war. Canadians 41
produced more **grain**, meat, fish, milk, and cheese for the armies overseas. In fact between 1939 and 1945, grain production increased by more than 150 per cent; meat production increased by 250 per cent. Fish and milk exports also increased. Although many farmers had gone to war, many other young Canadians went to the farms to take their places to make sure that food production did not fall.

How did other Canadians contribute?

Other Canadians contributed to the war effort as well. For example, 42
each home saved its animal bones from dinner so that the government could collect them; the government used them to make glue and explosives for the war. Children saved scrap paper and glass; these were also collected and used to produce goods for the army. Women at home knitted socks for soldiers; people of all ages wrote letters to prisoners of war. Women **gave up** wearing silk stockings because the silk could be used for making **parachutes**. Instead, some women painted lines down the backs of their legs, so that it would look as if they were wearing seamed stockings! The government started **rationing** food. They wanted to make sure there was enough food to go overseas to the soldiers. Each family received a book of **coupons**. There were coupons for butter, tea, coffee, meat, and gasoline for cars. People had to use these coupons every time they went to buy these products; if they did not have the coupons, they were not able to buy the product. This forced people to be more careful and not waste resources.

As it had in World War I, the government started to control more 43
aspects of Canadian life. In 1942, the government did not allow any



Canadians at home were urged to save fat and bones for munitions production.

Canadians were urged to help the war effort by buying Victory Bonds.

industry to make **vehicles** for private use. This forced car industries to use their workers and resources, such as gasoline, rubber, and steel, to produce vehicles for war use only. The government also began controlling wages and prices. The government sold war bonds; workers were expected to buy them. The government collected $12 billion by selling war bonds. In 1942, the government increased income taxes. This helped to raise more money for the war effort. The government started to control workers more. People who worked in certain industries were excused from fighting because they were more valuable as workers. Workers had to give seven days' **notice** before they could leave their jobs so that production of war supplies would not slow down. The government could assign a job to anyone who was unemployed for more than 14 days. All Canadians were asked to contribute personally to the war effort; the government made sure that they did.

The Canadian government increased its control over the economy 44
and prohibited strikes by workers. In return, the government satisfied the unions by making important laws. For example, one law forced employers to recognize workers' unions. Companies could not refuse to listen to workers' complaints and demands; companies could not fire the workers who had complaints and replace them with other people. The government wanted to make sure that war production did not slow down; it was necessary for all workers to work. The new laws made employers partly responsible for the workers' satisfaction with the workplace. Companies would have to make workplaces safe, and wages fair. Workers would stay at the job; war production would not fall.

QUESTIONS

a. How did the government make sure Canadians contributed to the war effort?
b. Why did the government take these actions?
c. How did workers benefit from the government's actions?

How did the war affect Canadian society?

The war changed Canadian society in some very important ways. As 45
a result of the war, the Canadian government developed a social welfare system to take care of the **basic needs** of all Canadians. The war also had an effect on the lives of women. Another group affected by the war was the immigrant and **ethnic minority** population. The war also brought political and economic change in Canada.

A social welfare system is a system in which a government takes responsibility for meeting the basic needs of citizens.

How did Canadians get a social welfare system?

One reason that Canada developed a social welfare system was because 46
the war changed people's ideas about the **role** of the government in

the lives of Canadians. When the government started to control so many aspects of people's lives during the war, Canadians began to see that the government could make laws to take care of the basic needs of all Canadians. If it could organize the country and spend billions of dollars to fight a war, it could also do the same to fight poverty and the Depression. The government also began to think that it had a duty to take care of people's basic needs.

Another reason that Canada developed a social welfare system was because Mackenzie King did not want a repeat of the economic **recession** that happened after World War I. King and the Liberals thought that it would be possible to stop bad times from coming again if people had economic security. If people had money to spend, the economy would grow. If Canada were lucky, there would not be a recession but a boom after this war! The government made two important laws to help people feel more economically secure. In 1940, the government started **Unemployment Insurance** and, in 1944, the government started the **Family Allowance** program. Unemployment Insurance **guaranteed** enough money for unemployed people to live. Family Allowance helped to improve the lives of mothers with children (in case fathers did not come home from the war). These changes in government policies were important: they showed Canadians that the government was interested in taking care of their needs. 47

How did the war affect the lives of women?

Aircraft manufacturing was just one area where women were needed during the war.

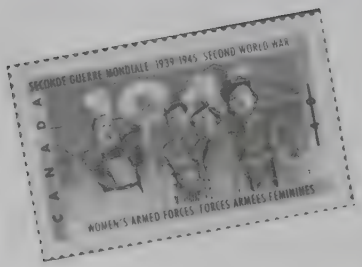
The shortage of men in workplaces created more work opportunities for women. They were needed everywhere. By 1944, more than 1 million women were working outside the home. Many had jobs in general manufacturing and in the war industries. But one thing did not change: women were expected to give up their jobs when the war was over. However, some women were making up to $45 a week, and some were even making the same wage as men at their jobs. As a result, more women were unwilling to give up their jobs. 48

The war made women workers in industry important. But the attitudes of most Canadians did not change. Although a few women could make the same pay as men, most did not. On average, women were paid one-third less than men. 49

Women also contributed to the war effort through volunteer work. They raised money for the war effort, kept families together, helped those who had lost men in the war, and sent packages and letters to the soldiers in order to **keep their spirits up**. 50

The biggest change for women was the kind of work they were allowed to do in the armed forces. In World War I, they had been allowed to go overseas as nurses. But in World War II, more than 50 000 women served in the armed forces. They joined the navy, the air force, and the army. They usually got less money than men when doing the same job, but they were allowed to do many of the same jobs as men, 51

These members of the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service are leaving for England from Halifax, Nova Scotia, in February 1944.



This postage stamp recognized the importance of women in the armed forces.

except for fighting. Most Canadians did not accept women as equals yet, but the effect of the war on women's work opportunities caused major changes in the role of women.

How did the war affect immigrants and ethnic minorities?

The war changed the lives of many immigrants and Canadian citizens who belonged to ethnic minority groups. The fear of "enemy aliens" that Canadians had developed during World War I appeared again in World War II. The government had the power to tell people where they could work, put people in work camps, imprison "enemy aliens," and take away the rights of Canadians. And they did. The "enemy aliens" in this war were Canadians of German, Italian, and Japanese descent. In 1940, the Canadian government made it illegal for Italian Canadian groups to meet. The Canadian government also began to put some German and Italian Canadians into **internment camps**. The government was afraid that these Canadians were working for European governments as spies. But the biggest example of Canadians' fear of immigrants was the detention of Japanese Canadians. 52

In 1942, the Canadian government ordered 22 000 Japanese Canadians to leave their homes, farms, and businesses on the Pacific coast of British Columbia. The Japanese Canadians were sent to detention camps far away from the coast. The government **confiscated** their property and sold it to other Canadians, often at very low prices. It did not matter that more than half the Japanese Canadians had been born in Canada. This action changed the lives of Japanese Canadians for many **generations**. 53

These Japanese Canadians are being relocated to camps in the interior of British Columbia, 1942.

QUESTIONS

a. How did the war change the way Canadians thought about the role of government?
b. What effects did the war have on the lives of women?
c. How did the war affect ethnic groups?

What were the political and economic effects of World War II?

Canada's experience in World War I taught Canadians that participating in international wars had advantages and disadvantages. The advantages of the war were industrial growth and international respect. The disadvantages of war were the costs in lives, in money, and in conflicts between groups of Canadians. As they entered World War II, Canadians asked themselves what they would gain and what they would lose as a result of the war. 54

Some of the benefits were economic. Through the war effort, Canada experienced economic growth and industrial expansion. After the war, Canada had a system of factories and industries that made the country one of the richest in the world. The war ended the Great Depression for Canada. There was employment for almost everyone; Canadians were prosperous. Canadians recognized that government could and should play a role in improving people's lives; after the war, people had economic security with Unemployment Insurance, Family Allowance payments, and veterans' programs. 55

Politically, Canada gained more international respect. During the war, Canada had won an independent place on important international 56

organizations and committees. After the war, the Allies created a new world peace organization to replace the League of Nations — the United Nations. Canada was one of the founding members. Canadians felt pride in helping to win a war for human rights and gained self-confidence as a nation.

What did these benefits cost Canada? Forty-two thousand Canadians 57
died in the war. Thousands of others were injured. The war cost Canada $12 million a day! Conscription again created conflict between French and English Canadians, although it was not as serious as during World War I. The war also created conflict between groups of Canadians that resulted in the internment of Italian and Japanese Canadians. Canada developed closer ties to the United States because both countries provided war supplies to the Allies. For example, Canadians produced parts for some weapons made in the U.S.; at the same time, Americans made parts for weapons manufactured in Canada. Closer military, trade, and business ties to the United States moved Canada farther from Britain and made Canadian jobs even more dependent on American markets.

One of the costs of World War I had been the conflict it created 58
between the returning veterans and other groups of Canadians. The King government wanted to avoid this a second time. Therefore, the government decided that, in 1945, returning veterans would receive as much help as possible from the government. When 1 043 576 veterans did return, they found that the government was willing to help them with **counselling** programs, paid job training, paid school fees, loans for buying houses, and financial help to start farms or businesses. The government reasoned that if it made sure Canadians had money to spend, they would. If Canadians spent money, other Canadians would be productive.

QUESTIONS

a. What did Canada gain from participation in World War II?
b. Do you think Canada's participation in the war was worth the costs? Why? Why not?
c. How was the situation of the veterans of World War II different from the situation of the veterans of World War I?

CASE STUDY

Japanese Canadians during World War II

The first Japanese arrived in Canada as **survivors** of **shipwrecks**. In 1877, a young Japanese sailor decided to stay. Manzo Nagano became the first Japanese settler in Canada. Few Japanese people joined him.

Canadians were anti-Asian, especially in British Columbia. Canada's immigration policy showed this for a very long time. The "head tax" kept Chinese and Japanese immigration very low. By 1911, there were only 10 000 Japanese in Canada. But by 1941, this number had grown to 23 000. Almost all the Japanese Canadians settled in British Columbia. Many were

experienced farmers and fishermen. The natural resources of British Columbia provided a livelihood and lifestyle for the new Japanese immigrants that was very much like their lives in Japan. They worked hard; as a result they had productive and prosperous lives. But many British Columbians did not welcome them. For example, neither the Canadian government nor the British Columbia government would give Chinese or Japanese Canadians the right to vote.

In 1937 and 1938, many people in British Columbia expressed anti-Japanese feelings. Some said that there were too many Japanese immigrants and that some of these immigrants must have come to Canada illegally. In 1940, some British Columbians demanded that the Canadian government bar Chinese or Japanese Canadians from the military. They did this because they were afraid that if Chinese and Japanese Canadians fought for Canada in the war, they would want the right to vote in elections when veterans returned. Japanese Canadians knew that many British Columbians did not want them there: their farms and fishing boats were competition.

But none of the anti-Asian feelings experienced by Japanese Canadians prepared them for what happened after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941. Canadian anti-Japanese feelings increased greatly. Some people feared that Japan might attack British Columbia, too. Suddenly, many British Columbians thought of their Japanese-Canadian neighbours as enemies of Canada: "enemy aliens." They had no proof that any Japanese Canadians acted as spies; not one Japanese Canadian was arrested for spying. The Canadian Navy and the Canadian Air Force even told the people of British Columbia that the Japanese Canadians were not dangerous. But many British Columbians wanted the Japanese Canadians out of British Columbia. They demanded that the Canadian government and the British Columbia government take action. The governments listened.

In January 1942, the federal government ordered the removal of all Japanese Canadians from the West Coast. The Canadian government took all Japanese Canadian-owned cars, trucks, fishing boats, and weapons. They confiscated all Japanese Canadian-owned cameras and radios. The government was afraid that Japanese Canadians would use these objects to communicate with the Japanese military.

During the evacuation, Japanese-Canadian men stayed in dormitories like this.

On February 26, 1942, 22 000 Japanese Canadians were forced to leave their homes on the British Columbia coast. Often, families were split up: adult men went to one camp, and women and children went to another camp. The government sent them to detention camps in the mountains of British Columbia and other parts of Canada. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police guarded the roads so that no Japanese Canadians could leave. The government sold their farms, fishing boats, cars, trucks, and other Japanese Canadian-owned goods for very low prices. The Canadian government did not give the money from the sales to the Japanese Canadians. It claimed that the money was needed to pay for moving the Japanese Canadians to the camps. After the war, the Japanese Canadians were released from the camps, but they had nothing to return to in British Columbia: the government had sold their homes and their means of making a living.

Most of the Japanese Canadians who were interned were not recent immigrants from Japan. They had much stronger ties to Canada than to Japan. More than 50 per cent of them were born in Canada. Only 25 per cent of the Japanese Canadians taken to the internment camps were still citizens of Japan. But this did not matter to the government. They were all considered "enemy aliens" because of their Japanese ancestry.

Close to the end of the war, the Canadian government offered the Japanese Canadians a choice: they could either move to eastern parts of Canada, or they could go back to Japan; 10 000 people left. They had had enough of bad treatment. Those who stayed moved to many parts of Canada. In 1950, there were more Japanese Canadians living in Ontario than in British Columbia.

At the end of the war, many Japanese Canadians tried to get repayment for the property that had been sold. In 1947, Japanese Canadians received about 20 per cent of the value of their property. Many felt this wasn't fair. The government did not allow Japanese Canadians to return to British Columbia until 1949. In that same year, they were finally allowed to vote in elections, even though other Asians, such as the Chinese, got the right to vote in 1947.

Many Japanese Canadians thought the Canadian government owed them an apology. It was not until 1988 that the Canadian government formally apologized to Japanese Canadians for their unfair treatment during World War II. The government also gave $21 000 compensation to each of the **evacuees** who was still living.

In 1940, many Canadians had supported a full war effort because they felt that the racist policies in Nazi Germany were wrong. It is strange that Canadians didn't see that their own actions against the Japanese Canadians were equally racist and wrong.

The Government of Canada, on behalf of all Canadians, does hereby:

1) acknowledge that the treatment of Japanese Canadians during and after World War II was unjust and violated principles of human rights as they are understood today;

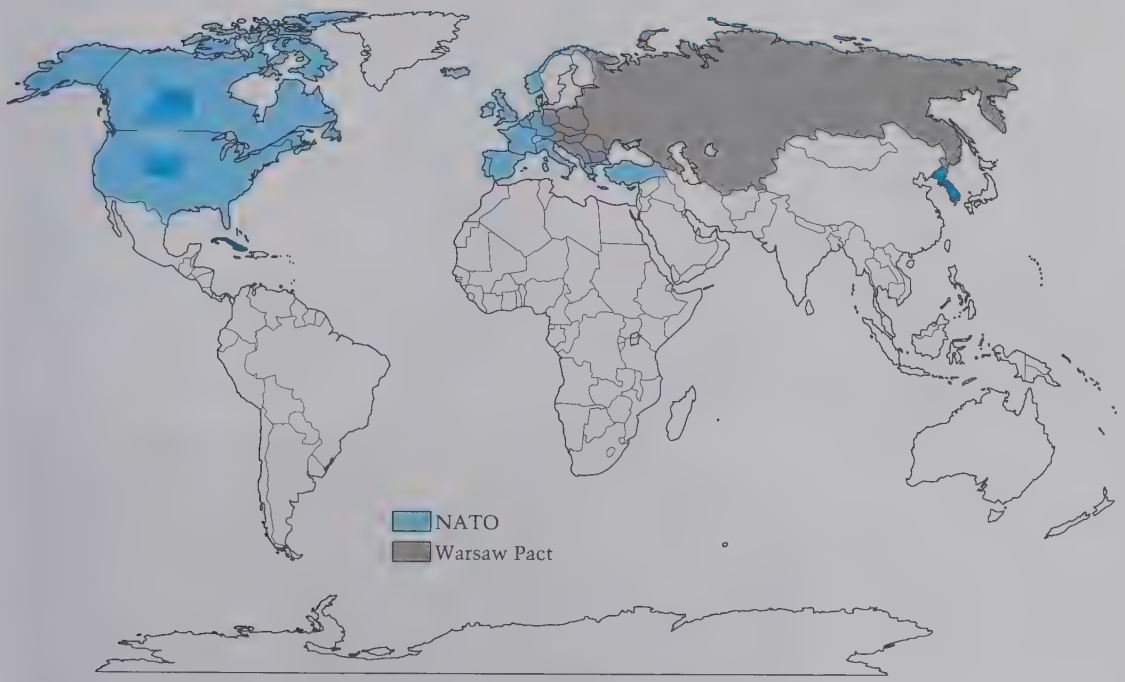
2) pledge to ensure, to the full extent that its powers allow, that such events will not happen again; and

3) recognize, with great respect, the fortitude and determination of Japanese Canadians who, despite great stress and hardship, retain their commitment and loyalty to Canada and contribute so richly to the development of the Canadian nation.

Brian Mulroney
Prime Minister of Canada

CHAPTER NINE

Prosperity and the Cold War: 1945-1963



In this chapter, you will read about the development of Canadian life during the 20 years following World War II. The standard of living improved; at the same time, the world was entering a new period of conflict. This was another period of great social and political change in Canadian society.

Why did Canada prosper after World War II?

After the war, Canada experienced a period of economic growth and prosperity. Several factors helped **stimulate** the economy and improve the standard of living. First of all, government policies helped the economy to grow. Another factor was the strength of the unions. A third factor was the way Canadians spent money in the postwar period. Increased immigration and a big increase in the **birth rate** also contributed to prosperity. Finally, American investment played an important role in stimulating the Canadian economy. 1

How did government policies help bring prosperity?

Many Canadians remembered what happened at the end of World War I. Now they worried about life after World War II. C.D. Howe, the Minister of Munitions and Supply, felt that there was no reason for either an economic slump or a recession. The economy was strong. The war efforts had created a strong and large manufacturing industry in Canada. The problem was that the factories were producing war supplies. When the war stopped, the factories would produce less and lay off workers. Howe had an idea. 2

He created tax **deductions** for factory owners. Factories that started to produce **consumer** goods would pay less tax. For example, a factory that produced television sets instead of radar systems would not have to pay as much tax. Canadians would buy the televisions, and there 3

These women are winding motors for refrigerators in a factory that once produced war supplies.

would be more jobs. Many companies that were producing goods for the war effort followed Howe's plan.

Howe also sold government-owned war factories at low prices. The new owner had to promise to keep the factory producing goods for at least five years. Many people decided to buy these government war factories. Howe's plan worked. 4

In 1940 and 1944, Unemployment Insurance and Family Allowance laws were passed to help all Canadians. The Department of Veterans' Affairs helped soldiers **adjust** to civilian life. It provided **disability pensions** for wounded veterans who could not work immediately. It provided job training and made loans to veterans. They could borrow money to start businesses, buy homes, or go to school. More than 180 000 veterans retrained for different jobs by going back to school. It was the start of a time of peace and prosperity. 5

Table 9.1 Returning Veterans, 1946

Army	730 000
Air Force	206 350
Navy	107 226
Total	1 043 576
Population of Canada	12 100 000

A major counselling a soldier on postwar jobs.

QUESTIONS

a. How did the government try to stimulate the economy?
b. How did the government try to improve the standard of living for Canadians?

How did unions help workers?

During the war, the government had recognized unions. Companies could no longer fire complaining workers without listening to their demands. As a result, the strength of unions had increased. More Canadians joined and supported unions. After the war, companies wanted to take away some of the workers' new rights. They wanted to pay less and to hire and fire workers as they liked. This created conflict 6

between employers and workers. Unions gave workers more confidence to demand better pay and safer working conditions. Some bitter strikes resulted. In many strikes, the workers won their demands.

More and more Canadians accepted unions, and unions became more powerful. By 1955, 10 years after the war, 23 per cent of the workforce was unionized. Unions became strong enough to get improved working conditions for workers without striking. Workers' wages more than doubled between 1945 and 1957. The work week became shorter and, during the 1950s, most provinces made laws that guaranteed two-week paid vacations. Working Canadians had more money than ever before. 7

QUESTIONS

a. How did the government work with unions to improve the standard of living?
b. Do Canadians still have these improvements?
c. Do you agree with these improvements?

How did postwar spending help economic growth?

During the war, the government had not allowed manufacturers to make and sell new cars to people for private use. Other products such as new appliances and silk stockings were scarce. After the war, Canadians used their savings and salaries to buy these products and many more. The more money Canadians spent on goods, the more money went into industry; the more money that went into industries, the more jobs there were for workers. This process helped create a boom! 8

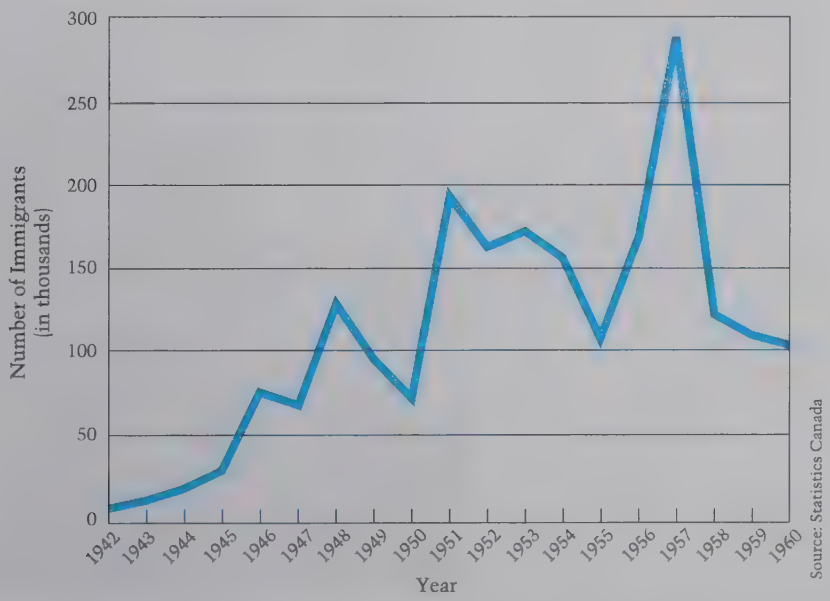
These are some of the products people were interested in buying.

War brides arrive in Canada with their children.

How did increased immigration help economic growth?

After the war, the government encouraged people to come to Canada. 9
Postwar Canada needed workers; Canada also needed more people to buy Canadian products. People came. The immigrants were mostly from **war-torn** Europe. Single men and women came. Families came. So did tens of thousands of **war brides** and their children. Canadian soldiers had been making love as well as war in Europe!

Figure 9.1 Immigration 1942-1960



Mackenzie King promised Canadians that immigration would not change Canadian culture. Almost all immigrants were from Britain. In 1949, the government allowed more French immigrants. Then, in 1951, the government allowed immigrants from Northwestern Europe. After 1956, many people from Germany, Italy, Hungary, Greece, and Portugal came. Very few immigrants from Asia, Africa, or South America came immediately after the war. They did not start to come to Canada in large numbers until after 1962. 10

Most of the new immigrants worked on Canadian farms or in factories. They spent their money, which **stimulated** the economy. They needed homes, appliances, food, clothing, and education. More jobs were created and employment grew because they had money to spend on their needs. In total, three million immigrants arrived in Canada between 1945 and 1955. 11

How did the postwar baby boom stimulate the economy?

Veterans married and started families. Many immigrants came and started families. For 15 years after the war, Canada had more children per family than any other industrialized country. Because of the number of babies born, the period between 1945 and 1962 is called the "baby boom." The children born during this period are called "baby boomers." They helped change Canadian society. As the children grew, they also became consumers. Parents bought baby furniture, toys, baby food, baby clothes, bicycles, sports equipment, and much more! Many parents remembered their childhood in the Depression. New parents in the 1950s wanted their children's lives to be better. They bought new products and helped the economy grow even more. 12

The baby boom made day nurseries like this necessary in the 1950s.

How did American investment stimulate the Canadian economy?

Canada's ties to the American economy stimulated growth in this country. During the war, economic co-operation between Canada and the United States had increased. Both countries had supplied the Allies with food and military equipment. The economic co-operation did not stop. By 1952, 77 per cent of foreign investment in Canada was American. Billions of American dollars were invested in Canadian industry. In return, Canadians bought more from the United States than any other country in the world. By the 1970s, more than 70 per cent of our import and export trade was with the United States. 13

QUESTIONS

a. Explain how Canadians spending money helped the economy to grow.
b. How did new immigrants contribute to economic growth?
c. How did more babies help the Canadian economy grow?
d. How did American investment stimulate the Canadian economy?

How did prosperity affect life in Canada?

The number of jobs and incomes increased. Canadians spent more money. One of the most important things Canadians wanted to buy was a home. The increase in wages made this possible. The boom changed where people lived, what they had in their homes, when they worked, and how much education they received. Prosperity also influenced Canadian culture. 14

How did the boom change where people lived?

During and after the war, many people from rural areas came to the cities to work. Many immigrants from European cities also settled in Canadian cities. As a consequence, cities grew in population and size and became overcrowded. Builders began building homes outside the city where land was cheaper. These areas were called **suburbs**. A family could live outside the city where it was quiet and clean. The number of suburbs in Canada increased quickly in the 1950s. 15

Cars made it possible for people to live in the suburbs and work in the cities. A car was the second most popular consumer item. From 1945 to 1963, the number of cars owned by Canadians grew by more than 4.5 million! Highways were built between suburbs and cities. City parking lots sprang up and city streets had to be widened. 16

Cars like this Buick Wildcat became popular after World War II.

The assembly line at the Ford of Canada plant in Windsor, Ontario, in 1953.

QUESTIONS

a. Do you live in a suburb, or are there suburbs near where you live?
b. Describe these suburbs. Are the houses different or the same? Are the neighbourhoods noisy or quiet? Are the trees small or full-grown?
c. Why did Canadians in the 1950s want to buy cars? Do you want to have a car? Why? Why not? What kind?

What did people have in their homes?

Canadians wanted modern **conveniences** in their homes to make their lives easier and more entertaining. They bought new refrigerators, stoves, furnaces, furniture, radios, record players, and power mowers for their lawns. Canadians were able to buy televisions for the first time in 1952. Television quickly became very popular. 17

In the 1950s, television viewing was a family activity.

How did working conditions change?

Workers' demands for better pay, improved working conditions, and more leisure time led to the 40-hour work week. Workers now had more time to spend with their families. New laws guaranteed a two-week paid vacation. 18

What kind of education did Canadians receive?

The baby boom meant that more schools and more teachers were needed. High schools then were different from high schools today. There were strict rules. There were final exams in all courses. If you failed one subject, you could fail the whole year! Students could not have **spares** until they were in their final year. Chewing gum was forbidden. Girls had to wear skirts and boys had to wear pants — no blue jeans were allowed! Students still had fun at school. They had sports teams, clubs, and dances. 19

These girls are wearing the fashions of the '50s.

QUESTIONS

a. Compare high-school rules in the 1950s with the rules in your own school.
b. Compare the rules in your school with the school rules in other countries.
c. What are the advantages and disadvantages of strict rules in school?

Canadian culture changed a great deal during the boom. For example, teens had their own culture outside school. They ate their own foods: hot dogs, hamburgers, and French fries. They spoke their own language. "Cool" meant attractive or special, "hunk" meant an attractive boy, "doll" meant an attractive girl. Teens had their own weekend activities. Those who had cars "cruised the drag," which meant 20

Teens of the '50s spent their money in snack shops like this.

These teens are jiving to rock 'n' roll music of the '50s.

driving up and down the main streets looking for their friends. Others "hung out" at a favourite restaurant. Teens had their own music — "rock 'n' roll." Many adults hated rock 'n' roll. This made teens like it even more.

Teens were part of the boom. By 1959, there were 1.3 million teens between the ages of 15 and 19. Many of them worked part time or received **allowances** from their parents. It's estimated that these teens had $100 million a year to spend. And they did. Teens bought radios,

21

Canadians were becoming worried about the American influence on their country.

record players, and records to listen to their favourite music. They bought food and clothes. Their money helped companies grow, which created more jobs for Canadians.

QUESTIONS

a. How did teens contribute to the boom?
b. Compare the culture of Canadian teens in the 1950s with teenage culture in the 1990s.
c. Compare the culture of teens in Canada with teenage culture in other countries.

Another cultural change was the increased influence of American culture on Canadians. The Canadian government created the Massey Commission in 1949 to study what was happening to Canadian culture. The report recommended that the government support cultural development in Canada. It wanted Canadians to be able to appreciate books, music, and art created by Canadians. 22

Most Canadians, however, were not worried about American influence. In 1952, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) televised American-made programs like *I Love Lucy*, but it also televised *Hockey Night in Canada* and *La famille Plouffe*. Many Canadians watched American-made movies, but others went to plays to see Canadian actors. The Stratford Festival, an internationally known drama festival focusing on the works of Shakespeare, opened in 1953 in Stratford, Ontario. The government wanted to increase Canadian culture even more. In 1957, the government created the Canada Council. This organization **promotes** Canadian arts for Canadians. 23

Most Canadians continued to watch American films and television shows. Often they admired aspects of the American way of life. Some Canadian artists and performers went to the United States and became popular there. 24

***Wayne and Shuster* and *Country Hoedown* were popular Canadian television programs in the early 1960s.**

William Shatner, Captain James T. Kirk on the popular *Star Trek* television series, was one Canadian who became popular in the United States.

QUESTIONS

a. What literature do you study in school? How much of it is American?
b. Do you think Canadians are influenced too much by Americans?

How was Canada involved in world affairs?

After World War II, Canada became more involved in the international community. The Canadian government became involved in making decisions that affected other countries. One reason was the creation of the United Nations. Another reason was Canada's close military relationship with the United States. Canadians discovered that close ties to the United States had economic and military advantages. But they had disadvantages, too. It was like sleeping next to an elephant! 25

How was Canada involved in the United Nations?

Near the end of the war, the United Nations was created to preserve peace in the world. The UN has a **General Assembly**. All nations that are members send representatives to sit in the General Assembly and vote. The UN also has a **Security Council**. It was made up of the representatives of 11 countries. This has now increased to 15. The 5 winning Allies of World War II are permanent members of the Security Council. They have the power of **veto**. This means that, if one of them does not like a proposal, it can stop the proposal by voting "No." 26

Canada was a founding member of the UN and has a seat in the General Assembly. Canada has been elected to several two-year terms on the Security Council.

What was Canada's relationship with the United States?

World War II had strengthened the ties between Canada and the United States. As neighbours, their defences were closely **linked.** Decisions made by one country could affect the other. Many Canadians felt closer to the United States than to Britain in 1945. Canada hoped that prosperity would bring world peace. Unfortunately, this did not happen. A new conflict developed during the postwar period between the Soviet Union and the United States. Canada, as America's neighbour and ally, was affected by this conflict. This conflict affected many nations in the world; it was called the **Cold War**. 27

What was the Cold War?

The Cold War was the **hostile** relationship between the Soviet Union (also called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: USSR) and the 28

United States. The United States and the Soviet Union had been allies during World War II. But they had never really trusted one another. They had united to defeat Hitler. But each side had different plans and policies that suited its own interests. Unfortunately, what one side viewed as legitimate policy, the other viewed as a threat to its interests. Both the United States and the Soviet Union wanted to expand their political and economic systems into different parts of the world. They both wanted greater influence in Europe and Asia.

The relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States 29
was unfriendly, or cold. Their economic and political systems were very different. The United States thought that the Soviet Union was wrong to follow **communism**. The Soviet Union thought that the United States was wrong to follow **capitalism**. Their relationship stopped just short of actual war. This is what "Cold War" means.

The Soviet Union was a member of the UN Security Council. It had 30
the power of veto. This made it difficult for the UN to stop Soviet expansion: the Soviet Union could just vote "No" to any action that the United Nations wanted to take. If the Soviet Union did start a war, Canada might need the protection of a strong country like the United States.

People in Europe were also worried about the Soviet Union. The 31
possibility of another war was very frightening. In 1949, the Soviet Union announced that it had discovered the secret of the atomic bomb. The United States was no longer the only **nuclear power**. In Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, the world had already seen what atomic bombs could do. Britain, France, and eight other European countries formed an alliance to protect themselves against Soviet expansion. But they knew that they had very little chance of success against Soviet attacks without the strength of the United States.

Canadian Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent had a solution. He per- 32
suaded the United States to join an alliance. In this alliance, all the

The North Atlantic Treaty was signed on April 4, 1949.

partners were equal. The military and economic links between Europe and North America were in place. Canada had a stronger voice in world events.

The United States agreed to join. In 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty 33
Organization (NATO) was formed. Each country agreed to help the others: an attack against one was an attack against all. In 1950, an **integrated** armed force for Europe was started. Each member country contributed to this military force.

The formation of NATO angered the Soviet Union. To protect itself, 34
the Soviet Union formed an alliance of its own with its neighbours in Eastern and Central Europe. This alliance was called the Warsaw Pact. The two opposing sides in the Cold War were now in place.

QUESTIONS

a. What was the Cold War?
b. Why was NATO formed?
c. What was the Warsaw Pact?

What happened in Korea?

MEMBERS OF NATO

United States
France
Holland
Canada
Iceland
Norway
Belgium
Italy
Portugal
Denmark
Luxembourg
Great Britain
Greece (1952)
Turkey (1952)
West Germany (1955)
Spain (1983)

The United Nations had failed to stop Soviet expansion in Eastern 35
Europe. The Soviet Union controlled Eastern Europe. Then, in 1950, there was an international **crisis** in Korea: North Korea invaded South Korea. North Korea had a Communist government and was supported by the USSR. There was reason to believe that the Soviets were responsible for the attack. The UN Security Council condemned their actions. The UN agreed to provide military support to South Korea. The vote passed because the Soviets were not there to veto it. They were staying away from the meetings of the UN to show their anger over an American veto on another matter. Within a few days, a UN force, under U.S. command, was on its way to defend South Korea from the Communist armies of North Korea and, later, China. The North Korean and Chinese armies were supported by the Soviet Union with weapons and money. Canada quickly raised a volunteer force to send as part of the UN forces. UN forces stopped the North Korean invasion but the country remained divided between North and South.

By the time the Korean War ended in 1953, 22 000 Canadians had 36
fought in Korea. This new war effort had helped Canada's economic boom even more. Industries produced supplies for the war effort; this resulted in more jobs, and more spending by Canadians. Canada and other UN members who had sent soldiers had done their share to keep the Soviet Union from expanding its control. But the future did not seem hopeful. By the end of 1953, both the United States and the Soviet Union had developed the much more powerful hydrogen bomb. Both sides of the Cold War had the power to destroy the whole world!

The Royal Canadian Horse Artillery in Korea, October 1951.

QUESTIONS

a. Why did Canada go to war in Korea?
b. Did the UN stop Communist expansion in Korea?
c. Do you agree with the actions of the UN?

What was the Suez Crisis?

WARSAW PACT NATIONS

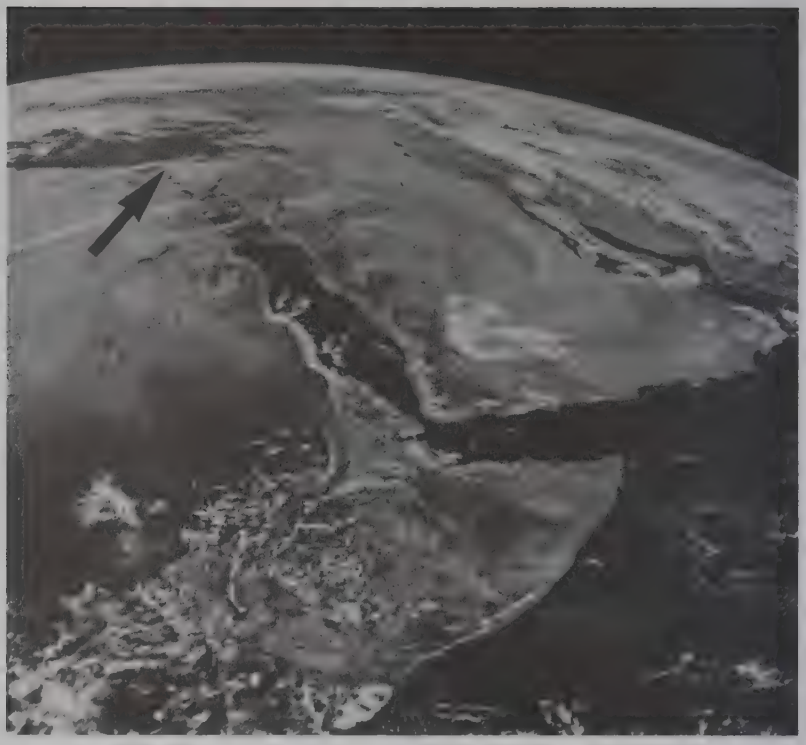
USSR
Romania
Hungary
Poland
East Germany
Czechoslovakia
Bulgaria
Albania

In 1956, a new crisis threatened world peace: the Suez Crisis. The Suez 37
Crisis split Canada's allies. Britain and France were on one side. The United States was on the other. It all started in Egypt.

The Suez Canal ran through Egypt, linking the Mediterranean Sea 38
and the Red Sea. The canal had been built by the French and opened in 1869. It was owned and operated by a British-French company. Ships paid a fee to use the canal. The company became very rich because the canal was a much shorter way to transport goods between Europe, India, and Asia.

In 1956, the Egyptian president, Gamal Abdul Nasser, decided his 39
country should control the Suez Canal. He **nationalized** it. The Suez Canal became the property of the country of Egypt. Britain and France were very angry. They asked the UN Security Council to take action, but nothing happened. Neither the United States nor the USSR wanted to get involved. Finally, Britain and France decided to attack Egypt and take back the Suez Canal. Israel joined them. Israel wanted to push Egyptian military forces back from its western borders.

Egypt was attacked on several fronts, but bravely **resisted**. The USSR 40
threatened to help Egypt if Britain and France did not **withdraw** their armies. At the same time, the USSR took the opportunity to crush



The arrow shows the location of the Suez Canal between the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea.

an anti-Communist **uprising** in Hungary, one of the Warsaw Pact countries. The United States was angry with Britain, France, and the USSR. The situation was very **tense**.

Canada and most Commonwealth countries did not agree with Britain's invasion of Egypt. Canada's Minister of External Affairs was Lester Pearson. He suggested that the UN send an **emergency** force to Egypt to supervise a **cease-fire**. Both the UN and the countries involved agreed. 41

Some English Canadians were upset that Canada had not supported Britain. Other Canadians were happy that the UN was able to stop the war. Pearson had proved that a **middle power** like Canada could play an effective role in the world. In 1957, he received the Nobel Peace Prize for helping to resolve the Suez Crisis. 42

QUESTIONS

a. Why did the NATO countries disagree over the Suez Canal?
b. Who did Canada agree with?
c. Do you think it was right for Britain and France to try to fight Egypt for the Canal?
d. What was Pearson's solution to the problem?
e. In the case of the Suez Canal, which was the more successful solution: violence or negotiation? Why?

The Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line was a network of American-owned radar stations built in the Canadian North. Its purpose was to detect and track Russian bombers approaching across the Arctic. These soldiers are on a reconnaissance exercise from a radar base in central Saskatchewan.

How did Canada prepare for the threat of nuclear war?

By 1954, the USSR could send long-range bombers carrying nuclear 43
bombs across the North Pole. This made the United States and Canada very nervous. They decided to build three lines of radar stations across northern Canada and Alaska to watch for Soviet attacks. Then, in October 1957, the USSR sent its Sputnik 1 **spacecraft** around the earth. This increased Canada-U.S. fears. Would the Soviet Union attack through space?

In 1958, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker agreed to a new alliance 44
between Canada and the United States. The North American Air Defence (NORAD) joined the two countries in a common air defence of North America. The NORAD commander is an American, the deputy commander is a Canadian. The **command post** was built in Colorado Springs, Colorado; a **back-up post** was built in North Bay, Ontario. In case of an attack, the commander could put all armed forces in the United States and Canada into action. The Americans now had greater control over Canadian military decisions.

The design and construction of these air defence systems and air- 45
craft were expensive. As a consequence, the Canadian government cancelled the production of the Avro CF-105 Arrow jet fighter. Diefenbaker's government decided to depend on American-made Bomarc missiles planes instead. But to be effective, these missiles had to use **nuclear warheads**. Most Canadians did not want nuclear weapons in Canada. They did not want the Canadian military to use them, even if the United States did. Was Canada going to start using nuclear missiles because of American pressure? Canada was learning that there were disadvantages to sleeping next to an elephant. More conflicts between Canadians and Americans over military decisions were brought out in the Cuban Missile Crisis.

The cancellation of production of the CF-105 Arrow meant immediate unemployment for 13 800 Avro employees.

QUESTIONS

a. If you were Diefenbaker, what five reasons would make you decide not to use nuclear missiles?
b. If you were the American President, what five reasons would you give to persuade Diefenbaker to use nuclear missiles?

What happened in the Cuban Missile Crisis?

Cuba is an island in the Caribbean Sea. It became a Communist country 46
in 1959. The Soviet Union was an ally or a "big brother" to Cuba, which felt threatened by the power of the United States, less than 200 km away. In 1961, Fidel Castro invited the USSR to establish **missile bases** in Cuba. Missiles fired from these bases could hit **targets** in almost all of the United States and in southern Canada as far west as Calgary. In October 1962, the United States discovered the missile bases in Cuba. NORAD's air defence systems were turned south.

Canadian officials found out about the possible start of war on 47
October 21. The next day, the American military sent photos of Soviet bases in Cuba to the Canadian government. They also gave Diefenbaker a copy of the speech that the President was about to give. Two hours later, President John Kennedy announced that the United States navy would block all ships going in and out of Cuba. In his speech, Kennedy gave an **ultimatum**: if the leader of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, would not agree to order all Soviet missiles out of Cuba, the United Sates would start a war. Kennedy immediately put NORAD on **high alert**. Diefenbaker refused to do the same for Canadian NORAD forces until 48 hours later. He felt that the United States had not given Canada enough warning. He wanted time to talk to Britain. He also hoped that the UN could be used to resolve the conflict.

American President John Kennedy thought that Canada would follow the Americans. Canada's delays and questions angered him. In a nuclear attack, minutes, not hours, counted.

Fortunately, by October 28, Khrushchev and Kennedy came to an agreement. Nuclear war was avoided. The USSR promised to remove its missiles. The United States promised never to invade Cuba. 48

QUESTION

a. What are the political or military advantages of having the United States as a neighbour? What are the disadvantages?

How did Canada change politically during the boom?

Canada's prosperity finally persuaded Newfoundlanders to join Confederation — 52 per cent of Newfoundlanders voted for Confederation; 48 per cent voted against. Joey Smallwood, who later became Premier, helped persuade Newfoundlanders that there were many economic advantages to joining Canada. Newfoundlanders had experienced very hard times in the 1920s and 1930s. Most of them worked in the fishing and lumbering industries. They had lost their jobs when the markets for their products decreased. People were poor. Despite Newfoundland's problems, some Newfoundlanders still opposed Confederation. They were afraid they would lose their independence and that Newfoundlanders would have to pay more taxes. In the end, the people of Newfoundland voted to join Confederation. On March 31, 1949, Newfoundland became Canada's tenth province. 49

Many Canadians thought of Louis St. Laurent, shown here with his granddaughters, as a loving grandfather.

What did the Liberals accomplish?

In 1948, Mackenzie King retired. Louis St. Laurent became leader of 50
the Liberal Party and the prime minister. The Liberals continued King's economic and social policies. C.D. Howe continued as Minister of Trade and Commerce. Economic growth, U.S. investment, and trade were encouraged. St. Laurent also began more social programs. The federal government started an Old Age Security program. Canadians over 70 years of age were given $40 a month. The federal government also promised to pay 50 per cent of provincial hospital insurance programs.

The Canadian government wanted all Canadians to be treated fairly. 51
Extra money was given to poorer provinces to enable them to have the same services as the richer provinces. This money was called an **equalization** payment. They are now guaranteed in the Canadian Constitution. Canadians liked this government and re-elected the Liberals in 1949 and 1953. The Liberals were confident of their future.

In 1956, C.D. Howe made a deal with some American investors to 52
build a **pipeline** from Alberta to Ontario. This pipeline would give Alberta more markets for its oil and gas products. It would also give Ontario industries a dependable source of energy. Eastern and western Canadians would benefit from this pipeline.

TransCanada Pipelines Limited, the company created to build the 53
pipeline, was in a hurry to start construction. Howe and the Liberals quickly pushed the proposal through Parliament. The opposition parties were angry. They said that the Liberal government had not been democratic; they had not had time to ask questions or disagree. The Liberals seemed to be more interested in helping their business friends than in following the rules of Parliament. The Canadian public began to question the Liberals' methods.

In 1956, the Progressive Conservative Party elected John Diefenbaker 54
as its new leader. "Dief the Chief" was a very good speaker. He was especially good at criticizing his opponents, the Liberals. He was 61

C.D. Howe was confident that the TransCanada Pipeline deal would unite the country. Instead, it led to the defeat of the Liberal government in the 1956 election.

1957 ELECTION RESULTS

Progressive Conservatives	112
Liberals	105
CCF	25
Social Credit	19
Others	4
	265

years old, but he seemed much younger and fresher than 75-year-old St. Laurent. He came from Saskatchewan and many people in Western Canada believed that Diefenbaker knew more about their problems than politicians in the rest of Canada. Many western Canadians thought that they did not have enough control over their resources and development. In 1957, the Conservatives beat the Liberals by seven seats, and formed a **minority** government.

What did the Conservative government accomplish?

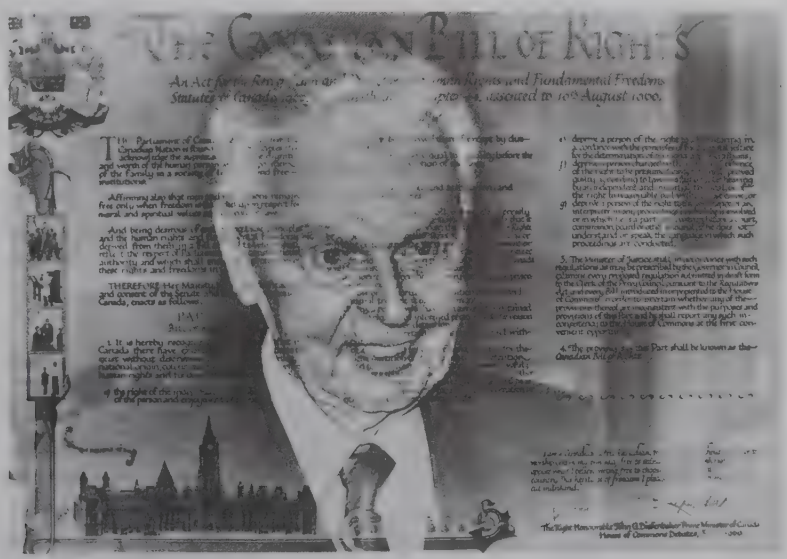
Diefenbaker's government cut taxes, increased financial help to farmers and loans for home buyers, and raised old age pensions. Then Diefenbaker called another election for March 1958. He presented a new

55

1958 ELECTION RESULTS

Progressive Conservatives	208
Liberals	49
CCF	8
	265

As early as 1947, John Diefenbaker had supported the adoption of a bill of rights. On August 10, 1960, his goal was realized and the statute specifying the rights of Canadians became law.



vision of Canada. He promised to develop the natural resources of Canada's North. Diefenbaker's enthusiasm excited Canadians. Voters across the country supported him, and he won the election with a huge **majority**.

> "We intend to start a vast roads program for the Yukon and the Northwest Territories which will open up for exploration vast new oil and mineral areas—thirty million acres! We will launch a seventy-five million dollar federal-provincial program to build access roads. THIS IS THE VISION!" *John Diefenbaker*

Then Diefenbaker's luck started to turn. The economy began to slow down. His decision to cancel making jet fighters for NORAD increased unemployment. Government debt grew. Canadians now owed money to other countries. As a result, the Canadian dollar lost value. When the Liberals were in power, the Canadian dollar had been worth more than the American dollar. Now it was worth only 92.5 cents American. 56

In the 1962 election, Diefenbaker continued as prime minister, but with another minority government. 57

1962 ELECTION RESULTS

Progressive Conservatives	116
Liberals	100
Social Credit	30
New Democrats (CCF)	19
	265

Diefenbaker was blamed when the value of the Canadian dollar dropped. People called the new, devalued dollar the "Diefendollar."

The economy stayed weak. Diefenbaker's refusal to accept nuclear missiles from the United States left Canadians feeling **vulnerable** during the Cuban Missile Crisis. In January 1963, the Liberals and their new leader, Lester Pearson, changed their minds about nuclear weapons in Canada. They agreed to accept nuclear weapons. But Prime Minister Diefenbaker still refused to accept them. As a result, his Minister of Defence **resigned**. The government was headed for change. 58

Pearson invited *all* Members of Parliament to vote against the Conservative government in a vote of **non-confidence**. Many did, and the Conservative government of John Diefenbaker was defeated. Prime Minister Diefenbaker had to resign or call an election. He called an election for April 8, 1963. 59

Diefenbaker travelled the country by train in the election campaign. He blamed the Liberals, the Americans, and big business for his defeat. He asked average Canadians to support him against these powerful groups. But Diefenbaker lost support across the country. 60

The Liberals gained the most seats in the election, but it was not enough to win a majority. Now Pearson and the Liberals formed a minority government. This was the third minority government in four 61

1963 ELECTION RESULTS

Liberals	129
Progressive Conservatives	95
Social Credit	24
New Democrats	17
	265

elections since 1957. Canadians were confused and divided in 1963. The Cold War and regional differences had limited the enjoyment of postwar prosperity. Would the good life continue after 1963?

QUESTIONS

a. What is a majority government?
b. What is a minority government?
c. What did the Liberals accomplish?
d. What did the Conservatives accomplish?

CASE STUDY

Refugees from Soviet Communism: The Hungarians of 1956-1957

After World War II, Hungary was controlled by the Communist Party and the former USSR. When some Hungarians tried to make changes in the Communist government of Hungary in 1956, the Soviet Union stopped them. The USSR did not allow Warsaw Pact allies to make changes.

While the United States, Canada, Britain, and France were busy disagreeing over the Suez Canal, the Soviet Union decided to show the Warsaw Pact countries what would happen to a country that tried to change its system of communism. On November 4, 1956, Soviet tanks rolled into Budapest, the Hungarian capital city. Hungarians fought back with stones and gasoline bombs. But without support from the United States or other NATO countries, they could not win. The NATO countries condemned the Soviet actions, but they did not want to risk a nuclear war.

Within 12 weeks, 200 000 Hungarians fled Hungary. Many were well-educated and young. They refused to take orders from the USSR. They refused to have their government controlled by the USSR. Many left their country with nothing.

Russian tanks occupied the capital city of Budapest in Hungary, November 1956.

The NATO countries accepted refugees from Eastern Europe. Canada welcomed 37 500 Hungarians. In two years, all but 1000 were settled and had jobs. The Hungarian refugees included university professors, foresters, engineers, chemists, and students. The entire School of Forestry of Sopron University, with 285 students, 29 teachers and their families, moved to the University of British Columbia! The University of Toronto accepted 110 engineering students.

The federal and provincial governments spent $14.4 million to help settle the Hungarian refugees in Canada. They paid their travel across the ocean, their train tickets, rent, and medical expenses. They bought them clothes to face the cold Canadian winter.

These Hungarian refugees have more than repaid their Canadian hosts and fellow citizens. They are hard-working members of Canadian society. They contribute through the work they do, the taxes they pay, and the cultural traditions they bring to Canadian society.

CANADIANS WHO MAKE A DIFFERENCE

John Marlyn (b. 1912-)

John Marlyn was born in Hungary and came to Canada as a baby. He grew up in Winnipeg, which later became the setting for his stories. John Marlyn was one of Canada's first authors to write about the life of Canadian immigrants.

Under the Ribs of Death, written in 1957, tells the story of a young Hungarian immigrant, named Sandor Hunyadi, who is determined to escape from what he thinks of as the negative experiences of being an immigrant in Canada. The book is about how Sandor, because of his hatred for the poverty, the language and cultural differences, and the isolation that he experiences, turns his back on his family and its values; he changes his name to a more English name — Alex Hunter.

You may wish to read this novel to find out what Sandor Hunyadi learns as Alex Hunter.

CHAPTER TEN

French and English Canada after World War II

Canada's Maple Leaf flag and the *fleur-de-lis*, the flag of Quebec.

In this chapter, you will read about the relationship between English and French Canada. You will find out why some people in Quebec want to separate from Canada, and how other Canadians feel about that. You will also learn about some of the politicians who have influenced Canadian history since the end of the Second World War.

French Canadians make up almost 25 per cent of our population. They 1
lived and worked in Canada for 150 years before Britain conquered New France. French, as well as English, is an official language in Canada. French Canadians are proud of their **linguistic** and cultural **heritage**, which make them **distinct** from other groups. Like Canada's First Nations and like many immigrants to Canada, they want to preserve their heritage. But French Canadians see themselves as different from other immigrant groups because of their longer history here. Like the British, they are considered to be one of Canada's founding nations.

French Canadians in all parts of Canada have come into conflict 2
with provincial and federal governments over language, education, and minority rights. For example, Louis Riel and the Métis rebelled against Macdonald's government to protect their culture and way of life. French Canadians in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Ontario protested the loss of their separate schools and French language rights. In both world wars, most French Canadians did not want to send their fathers, sons, and brothers to fight wars for Britain; this added to the **tension** between French and English Canadians. There is still tension today, and it threatens the unity of Canada.

Since World War II, the debate on how to establish French Canada 3
as a distinct society has grown stronger. At first, most French Canadians believed that this could be done as a part of Canada. However, the number of French Canadians who believed that Quebec had to separate from Canada and become an independent country in order to preserve its culture began to grow. A few even used violence unsuccessfully to try to gain independence for Quebec in the 1960s and 1970s. Most French Canadians believed that the future of Quebec and Canada could be resolved through peaceful negotiations with the federal government.

QUESTIONS

a. Why do French Canadians feel that their culture is threatened?
b. Canada has two official languages. Is it a bilingual country?
c. Do you know of other countries where there are tensions between different linguistic and cultural groups?

How did politicians try to resolve the Quebec question?

Quebec has changed in many important ways. During the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, it was a very conservative, rural province. Since then, some important politicians and ideas have had a major influence on the attitudes of people in Quebec and on the attitudes of Canadians in other provinces. Maurice Duplessis, Jean Lesage, René Lévesque, Lester Pearson, Pierre Trudeau, Robert Bourassa, Brian Mulroney, and Jean Chrétien have all made their mark on the politics of Quebec and of Canada. 4

How did Maurice Duplessis and the Union Nationale affect Quebec?

Maurice Duplessis was Premier of Quebec from 1936 to 1939, and again from 1944 to 1959. He was a powerful politician who felt that the province of Quebec was always more important than individual Quebeckers. Duplessis would ignore and even **violate** a person's civil rights if he thought it best for the province. For example, Duplessis opposed unions, and his government passed laws to stop unions from becoming stronger. Many times, in strikes, Duplessis would send in police to protect the rights of the owners, not the workers. The Duplessis government was also **corrupt**: for example, the government improved the roads and bridges in various towns based, not on need, but on how the people had voted in the last election. 5

Duplessis was successful in persuading the people of Quebec that the federal government threatened their traditional way of life. He **resisted** the federal government's attempts to improve and modernize Quebec. Duplessis did not want Ottawa interfering with *his* province. He believed that he was preserving the traditional ways of Quebec: 6

Maurice Duplessis was the leader of the Union Nationale. He and his party ruled Quebec with an iron hand.

the Catholic religion, the French language, farming, and little active government interference in people's lives.

However, many other Québécois thought that Quebec had to move with the times along with the rest of Canada. Some, like Jean Lesage, Pierre Trudeau, and René Lévesque, criticized Duplessis for making Quebec a **backward** province in a modern age. They wanted the Quebec economy to grow so that the standard of living would improve. But Duplessis' power continued until he died in 1959. Without Duplessis' leadership, the Union Nationale lost voters' support. Jean Lesage and the Liberal party won the 1960 provincial election in Quebec. 7

QUESTIONS

a. What parts of Quebec life did Duplessis want to protect?
b. What problems did Quebeckers have in their lives as a result of this way of life?

How did Jean Lesage and the Liberal Party affect Quebec?

With Lesage as Premier, it was time to correct the problems that had held Quebec back for so long. The period between 1960 and 1966 is known as the "Quiet Revolution." In those years, Lesage and the Liberals started making the changes that Duplessis had not wanted. The Liberals began by promoting economic growth and cultural survival. The two developments that best symbolize these changes were in the areas of energy and education. 8

rev•o•lu•tion *n.* 1.The overthrow and replacement of a government or political system by those governed. **2.** a drastic change in a condition, method, idea, etc.

The government established a hydro company to generate and distribute hydro-electric power in Quebec. The Minister of Natural Resources, René Lévesque, felt that if the Quebec government had control of hydro-electric power, the government could plan how Quebec's economy would grow. 9

Many people opposed Lévesque's hydro plan because it threatened to change some aspects of traditional Quebec life: non-government interference and rural living. What would happen if Quebeckers left these parts of their culture behind? However, most Quebeckers supported the changes. In the 1962 provincial election, they showed that they wanted the benefits of industrialization, full employment, changes in their way of life, and better job opportunities. They re-elected the Lesage government. 10

In education, the government wanted to establish a government-run school system, like that in other provinces, to create a modern, educated work force. Some people **did not go along with** this plan: the change in education would threaten the power of the Catholic Church in education and could weaken ties to the Catholic faith. The change could also threaten the use of the French language because many of the new subjects that the government wanted students to learn used English not French. 11

Members of the National Assembly visit the Hydro Quebec excavation site.

In the end, Catholic and Protestant schools remained, but the school system was funded and controlled by the government. The Lesage government also set up two-year colleges to train students for work in science and industry. 12

The changes in the school system showed that Quebeckers wanted to modernize their society. The state became the defender of culture. As the state **secularized** Quebec society, it became more and more like society in English Canada, and the role of the Catholic church was weakened. French language remained the defining **element** of Quebec culture. Only the state had the power to protect the French language. 13

In 1966, the Liberals were defeated. The changes they had made left the people of Quebec **dissatisfied**. For some, there had been too much change; for others there had not been enough. People who wanted change were **frustrated** and **discouraged**. They thought that the slowness of the changes showed that Quebec could never catch up with the rest of Canada. They felt that Quebec would never be able to develop a strong enough economy to protect its culture. More and more Quebeckers felt that it was the federal government that would not or could not—give Quebec what it wanted. Maybe a more serious change was needed: maybe Quebec needed to leave Confederation in order to develop a strong economy and culture. 14

QUESTIONS

a. The Quiet Revolution was a non-violent revolution of ideas. What traditions did the revolution set out to change?
b. Why did some people in Quebec feel threatened by these changes?
c. Which institution lost a lot of its power during the Quiet Revolution?

How did René Lévesque and the Parti Québécois affect Quebec?

By 1967, René Lévesque believed that peaceful separation from Canada was needed for Quebec to grow. The Liberal party refused to accept his view. As a result, Lévesque left the Liberal party. In October 1968, Lévesque formed a new political party that supported the ideas of peaceful **separatism**: the Parti Québécois (PQ). 15

A few people did not want to wait for peaceful **democratic** change. The Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) tried to persuade Quebeckers that a violent **overthrow** of Canadian government in Quebec was necessary. During the early 1960s, the FLQ had set off several bombs. Before long the FLQ and the democratic Parti Québécois would play dramatic and important roles in Canadian history. 16

QUESTIONS

a. Why did some people want Quebec to separate from Canada?
b. What countries do you know of where a cultural or political group has separated or tried to separate from the rest of the country? Was negotiation or violence used in the conflict?

How did Lester Pearson and the federal government respond to the situation in Quebec?

Prime Minister Lester Pearson **paid close attention to** the growing **nationalist** feelings in Quebec. Pearson wanted Quebec to stay in Canada; he was a strong believer in **federalism**. His government tried to make English Canadians more aware of the growing demands of French Canadians and their fear that they might lose their language and culture. The Pearson government tried to persuade Quebeckers of the advantages of staying within Canada by offering them economic, political, and symbolic changes. 17

Canadians celebrated the country's 100th birthday in 1967. For the Canadian Centennial, every community across Canada had special projects: new libraries, theatres, arenas, and swimming pools were built. Montreal hosted a world's fair, called Expo 67. Many English and French Canadians met in Montreal; there seemed to be many reasons to celebrate their country's unity. But there were some danger 18

Prime Minister Pearson presents Canada's new flag, the Maple Leaf, as a symbol of unity to all Canadians and French Canadians, in particular.

More than 50 million people from all over the world came to Expo 67 in Montreal to celebrate the Canadian Centennial.

signs that not all Quebeckers were happy with this unity. For example, when the French President Charles de Gaulle visited Expo 67, he was welcomed wildly by French-Canadian nationalists waving Quebec flags. De Gaulle himself encouraged French-Canadian feelings of nationalism and separatism by using the **slogans** of the Quebec separatists: *'Vive le Québec! Vive le Québec libre!'* English Canadians felt hurt and angry. How strong was the growing separatist movement?

Pearson was angry with the actions of the French President. Not only was de Gaulle encouraging Quebec nationalism, but he was also 19

French President Charles de Gaulle in Montreal.

saying that Quebeckers did not have freedom when living in Canada. Pearson responded to de Gaulle's messages to Quebeckers this way:

> "The people of Canada are free. Every province of Canada is free. Canadians do not need to be **liberated.** Indeed, many thousands of Canadians gave their lives in two world wars in the liberation of France and other European countries. Canada will remain united and will reject any effort to destroy her unity."

Prime Minister Pearson was so angry he told President de Gaulle that he was not welcome to visit Ottawa or to remain in Canada.

QUESTION

a. Why was Pearson angry with de Gaulle?

How did Pierre Trudeau affect Quebec?

Pierre Trudeau was part of Quebec's Quiet Revolution. When Pearson offered him the chance to run for the Liberal party in Quebec, he accepted. He won his House of Commons seat in the 1965 election. Now he could promote the Quiet Revolution as a member of the federal government. He became Pearson's Parliamentary Secretary in 1966 and Canada's Minister of Justice in 1967. 20

Trudeau was very different from traditional Canadian politicians: he drove a sports car, wore casual clothes, including sandals, and a flower in his lapel. And he was unmarried. Television and newspaper 21

From left to right, Pierre Trudeau, John Turner, Jean Chrétien, and Prime Minister Lester Pearson following the Cabinet changes on April 4, 1967. Between 1967 and 1994, each of these men would be Prime Minister of Canada.

reporters were attracted by his **frank** and clever answers to their questions. He was a strong federalist, and Canadian television audiences were impressed with his tough stand against demands for special status for Quebec. At the same time, he was a Quebecker and **fluently bilingual**, so **francophones** and **anglophones** could be proud of him. He seemed to represent both cultures. Because of his commitment to a strong, united Canada, Trudeau became popular across the country. When Pearson retired in 1968, Trudeau was elected leader of the Liberal Party. On April 19, 1968, he became Prime Minister of Canada.

Trudeau became famous across Canada and around the world as an exciting, interesting leader: he was a *celebrity*.

Trudeau called an election for June 25, 1968. He did not make expensive promises. Instead, he talked about his plans to create and support a "just society" in Canada. He believed that all Canadians should have **equal opportunity** to develop their individual talents; he defended the federal government's policies with the Canada Pension Plan, hospital insurance, and medicare. If these government policies were provided for all Canadians, Canadians would enjoy equal opportunity, and Canada would be a "just society." 22

As Trudeau travelled across the country, many people rushed to see and touch him. People were excited. Every night, television news programs showed exciting images of this man. Canadians decided they had found a politician that they liked. **Trudeaumania** carried the Liberal party to victory in the 1968 election. Trudeau formed the first majority government in four elections. 23

QUESTIONS

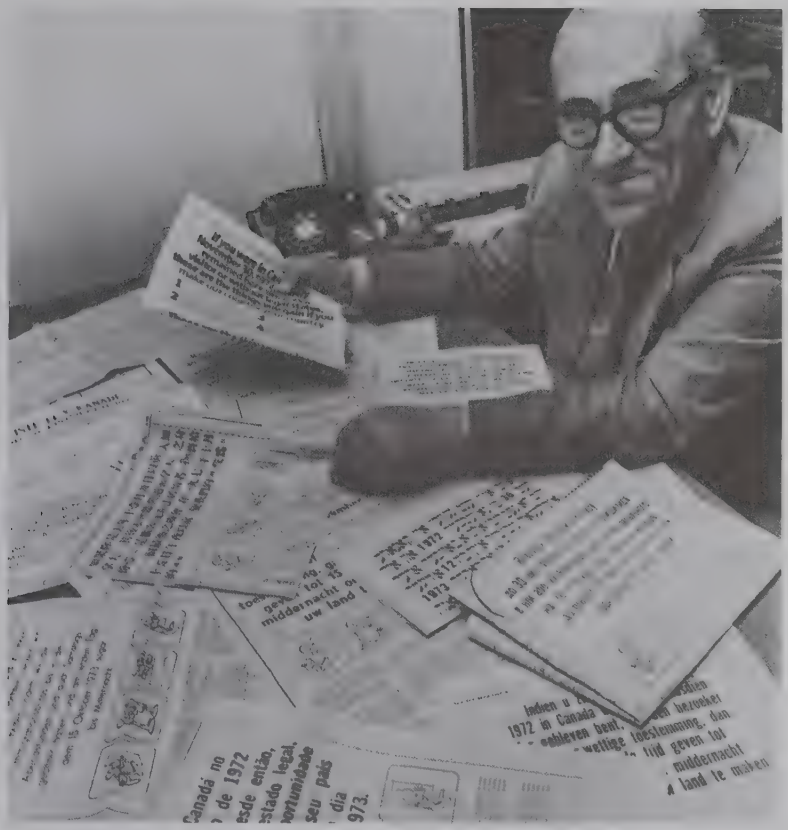
a. Why did Trudeau become involved in federal politics?
b. Compare Trudeau's image in the photo on page 171 with that of other Canadian politicians.
c. Why do you think Canadians liked him?
d. What other qualities of Trudeau were attractive to Canadians?
e. What do you think Trudeau meant by a "just society"?

What did the "just society" mean to Canadians?

Once in power, Trudeau started to introduce policies intended to create a "just society." For example, he introduced the Official Languages Act. This made English and French the official languages of Canada, and guaranteed that francophones as well as anglophones could communicate with the government in their own language. It **opened up** more government jobs for francophones. Canadians did not have to become bilingual, but Trudeau wanted French Canadians to know that they were citizens of a federal and united Canada. He also promised that the federal government would protect the French language. 24

Trudeau's "just society" also changed immigration laws. Immigrants could no longer be refused because of their race or religion. People would be allowed to immigrate based on their education, training, age, language, and the skills they could bring to Canada. This new immigration system is still used today. 25

In 1971, Trudeau declared Canada a **multicultural** country. The federal government promised to help **ethnic** groups protect their heritage with money to organize cultural festivals and cultural centres. 26



Advertisements in 23 languages invited aliens in Canada to register without penalty with the immigration department before October 15, 1973, for landed immigrant status.

QUESTIONS

a. How did the Official Languages Act benefit francophones?
b. How did Trudeau's government change the immigration laws?
c. What did "multiculturalism" mean during the Trudeau years?

How did the views of Trudeau and Lévesque differ?

27 During the late 1960s and 1970s, Trudeau and Lévesque were in competition for the **hearts and minds** of Quebeckers: Trudeau was a federalist, who wanted to keep Quebec as part of a strong united Canada; Lévesque believed that Quebec's only hope for cultural survival was as an independent country separate from Canada.

What was the October Crisis?

28 During the 1960s, a few separatists started to use violence. No one took the FLQ very seriously. Everyone believed that it was a very small group of **radicals** who had little support from the Quebec population.

This FLQ bombing took place in Montreal on May 17, 1963.

The FLQ robbed banks, stole dynamite and guns, bombed mail boxes, and occasionally killed innocent people. Both English and French Canadians disapproved of the FLQ's acts of violence. Most Canadians saw the FLQ members as either **extreme** nationalists or **terrorists**. Then, on October 5, 1970, an FLQ group **kidnapped** James Cross, a British Trade Commissioner in Montreal. Five days later, the FLQ kidnapped Pierre Laporte, the Deputy Premier of Quebec. Suddenly everyone took the FLQ quite seriously. Their actions got the attention of Canadians. This period became known as the October Crisis.

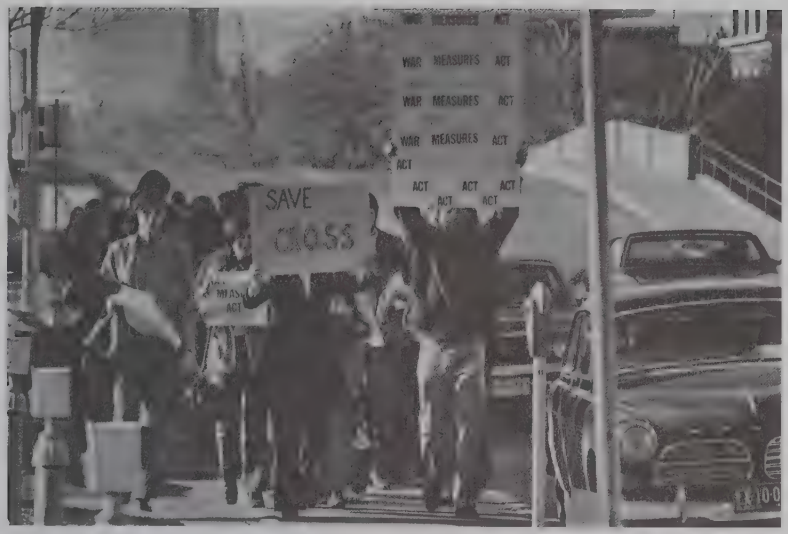
After the first kidnapping, the provincial and federal governments 29
were prepared to negotiate to save Cross's life. They allowed the FLQ's demands to be read on television. They agreed to let the kidnappers leave the country if Cross was released, but they refused to release any FLQ members who were in jail. After the second kidnapping, the government decided they could not give in to any more of the FLQ's demands. Jean Drapeau, the mayor of Montreal, and Robert Bourassa, the new Liberal Premier of Quebec, asked the federal government for help.

Canadians were shocked when the federal government used the War Measures Act during peacetime.

How did the federal government respond to FLQ terrorism?

Trudeau used the War Measures Act, which allowed the government 30
to arrest people and hold them in jail without charging them with a crime. The police were given the right to arrest anybody that they thought looked suspicious.

The FLQ assassinated one of their hostages, Pierre Laporte, and left 31
his body in the trunk of a car. Eventually, James Cross and his FLQ kidnappers were found. The police made a deal with the FLQ, in return



These demonstrators represented only 13 per cent of the Canadian population that disapproved of the government's actions.

During the FLQ crisis, the Canadian army was used to patrol the streets, guard public buildings, and protect government leaders in Quebec and Ottawa.

for the release of Cross, the kidnappers were flown to Cuba. Later, three other members of the FLQ were arrested and charged with the murder of Laporte; they were sentenced to life imprisonment. During the time that the War Measures Act was in effect, 436 people were arrested; only 20 of them were convicted.

A small number of people criticized Trudeau and Bourassa in 1970. 32
The War Measures Act had never been used in peacetime. Some politicians, like Tommy Douglas and René Lévesque, said that it was wrong to take away the rights and freedoms of all Canadians just to stop a small group like the FLQ. But 87 per cent of Canadians supported the government's actions. Later, though, many Quebeckers thought Trudeau had been wrong to call in the military, and they joined the peaceful separatist Parti Québécois. Nevertheless, while terrorism was

spreading in many parts of the world in the 1970s and 1980s, it did not reappear in Canada.

> "This government is not acting out of fear. It is acting to prevent fear from spreading... It is acting to make clear to kidnappers and revolutionaries and assassins that in this country laws are made and changed by elected representatives of all Canadians — not by a handful of self-selected dictators." *Pierre Trudeau, October 1970*

QUESTIONS

a. What was the FLQ?
b. Who belonged to the FLQ?
c. Was Trudeau right in using the War Measures Act?
d. Do you know of other countries where terrorism is or has been used?

How did attitudes in Canada and Quebec change in the 1970s?

In 1971, the federal and provincial governments met to discuss changes 33
to the **Constitution**: the division of responsibilities and powers between the federal and provincial governments. All provinces except Quebec seemed to be satisfied with the changes. Premier Bourassa and members of his government felt that the federal government still held too much power; they wanted the Quebec provincial government to have more control over certain areas of Quebec life.

Trudeau called an election in 1972. Trudeau's government emphasized the point "The Land Is Strong." Voters disagreed. Inflation and unemployment had increased to 4 per cent, and taxes were rising to pay for social programs. The Liberals lost 46 seats in the House of Commons as a result. Trudeau had to form a minority government with the support of the New Democratic Party (NDP). 34

In the 1974 election, Trudeau and the Liberal party won the support of more Canadians and had a majority government once again. Trudeau set up FIRA (Foreign Investment Review Agency) to control the growing foreign ownership of Canadian companies. At the same time, Trudeau also wanted to control the price of oil by setting up a national oil company — Petro-Canada. These policies worried many Canadians. Businesspeople and workers were worried that if there was no foreign investment in Canada, unemployment would increase; people in Western Canada were angry because they feared the Canadian government would keep the prices of oil down when, in the rest of the world, oil prices were very high. The Trudeau government became increasingly unpopular with Canadians. 35

In 1976, René Lévesque's Parti Québécois won the Quebec provincial election. In reality, the PQ's victory did not automatically mean that Quebeckers were ready for separatism or independence. In fact, Lévesque had played down separatism during the campaign. Many 36

René Lévesque at victory celebration for the Parti Québécois in Montreal following the general election of November 15, 1976.

people voted for Lévesque for other reasons. They liked Lévesque's charm and **sincerity**. He clearly believed what he said. Everyone knew that he wanted the best for Quebec.

What was best for Quebec? Even Quebec voters who did not really 37
support the idea of separatism voted for Lévesque because he promised that separatism, if it came, would be **gradual** and economically painless. Lévesque's idea of separatism was "sovereignty-association." Quebec would become a sovereign nation with complete control over its culture, economy, and foreign policy. It would, however, keep some links to Canada; for example, it would use the same money, at least to start, and there would be free trade with the rest of the country.

This editorial cartoon satirized René Lévesque.

By 1977, Lévesque had made many Quebeckers feel more secure 38
about their culture. His government passed a law (Bill 101) that made French the only language of business and work in Quebec. For many Quebeckers, the guarantee of language was enough, but Lévesque continued the idea of separatism. Quebec **had nothing to lose**. The only problem was that the rest of the provinces and the federal government had not agreed to this plan. Lévesque promised to hold a **referendum**, enabling the people of Quebec to vote on sovereignty-association.

Meanwhile, Trudeau's government was becoming increasingly 39
unpopular in the rest of Canada. High inflation and high interest rates hurt consumers and businesses. In the federal election of 1979, Trudeau and the Liberals lost to Joe Clark and the Progressive Conservative party. Prime Minister Joe Clark formed a minority government and Pierre Trudeau became leader of the opposition. At the end of the 1970s, Canada's great federalist announced that he would retire.

QUESTION

a. Why did Trudeau's government become less popular in the 1970s?

How did Quebeckers vote in the referendum?

The Conservatives did not last long. A few months after the election, as Trudeau was planning to retire, Clark's government was defeated in the House of Commons. This meant another election. Trudeau stayed on as leader of the Liberal party and in February 1980, Trudeau defeated Clark and formed his third majority government. He was back in power in time to oppose René Lévesque's proposals for a sovereign Quebec, independent of Canada. The battle was on again! 40

sov•er•eign *adj.* 1. independent of the control of other governments: *a sovereign nation.*

In May 1980, Lévesque held his **referendum**. He asked Quebeckers to vote "Yes" or "No" on his government's proposal to negotiate a sovereignty-association deal with the federal government. If they made a deal, he would come back and seek the voters' approval before separation happened. Lévesque's plans had two problems. First, because Lévesque had not emphasized the separatist issue in the 1976 election, many voters had supported the PQ for other reasons. Now that the separatist issue was being voted on directly, some of these same voters might not support it. The second problem was that the federal government would not co-operate with any part of his plan. 41

Trudeau sent federal ministers, like Jean Chrétien, to support the efforts of the Quebec provincial Liberals. Together they asked Quebeckers to vote "No." They told the Quebec voters that a "Yes" vote would result in painful economic hardships for all; "Yes" votes would mean that the federal government would stop supporting important social programs in Quebec. The federal government also promised the people of Quebec that, if they voted "No" to separatism, the government would make important political changes that would benefit Quebec. In the end, the "No" campaign had its effect; 60 per cent of Quebeckers voted "No" to Lévesque's dream. The idea of separatism 42

The Oui/Non campaign divided neighbours as well as families.

Keeping Canada together. These "No" supporters celebrate their referendum victory in Montreal.

did not completely die, but separatism no longer seemed to be an issue that worried most Quebeckers or Canadians.

QUESTIONS

a. Explain Lévesque's view of Quebec's relationship to Canada.
b. Why did the PQ lose the referendum?

What happened after the referendum?

Trudeau and the provincial premiers had asked Quebeckers to vote "Yes" to Canada. The federal government had promised the people of Quebec that if they voted "No" to separatism, the government would make important changes that would benefit Quebec. Trudeau promised to bring home the British North America Act which had created Canada in 1867 and was still controlled by Britain. The Act described how Canada would be governed under Confederation. 43

Trudeau promised to create a new **Constitution** that would guarantee the language and education rights of English and French Canadians, as well as the basic rights and freedoms of all Canadians through a new **Charter of Rights** that would be included in the Constitution. Trudeau also wanted the premiers of all provinces to agree to some new rules so that changes or amendments to the powers and responsibilities of the federal and provincial governments could be made at a later time in Canada. He hoped that these changes would satisfy the people of Quebec. 44

Some provincial premiers did not agree with Trudeau's ideas. They wanted more powers for their own provincial governments and fewer for the federal government. Other premiers opposed the idea of a Charter of Rights; for example, some premiers opposed the idea that the rights of women, French Canadians living outside Quebec, and First 45

Nations should be protected. The premiers were afraid that if these groups had their rights protected in the Charter, they would start making demands; for example, the premiers of British Columbia and Alberta did not want First Nations groups claiming land in their provinces.

In frustration, Trudeau threatened to ask Britain to make the changes 46
to the Constitution without the agreement of the provinces. Quebec, Manitoba, and Newfoundland took the federal government to court to try to stop Trudeau from doing this. In 1981, the Supreme Court ruled that the federal government had the right to ask Britain to make the changes as long as it had the agreement of a **substantial** number of provinces.

One last time, in November 1981, Trudeau met with the provin- 47
cial leaders. All premiers except Quebec's agreed to the Constitution Act of 1982. This Act gave Canadians a Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In this Charter, basic intellectual, political, and legal rights were protected. Women were guaranteed equality with men; **existing** First Nations and Treaty rights were recognized; and New Brunswick was included as a fully bilingual province. Some education rights for English and French minorities were included: French Canadians living outside Quebec were guaranteed French education, and English Canadians living inside Quebec were also guaranteed English education rights. Trudeau was happy.

Many Canadians felt that this completed Trudeau's work as prime 48
minister. In February 1984, Trudeau retired from politics for the second and last time. He had worked hard to make a place for French Canadians in all of Canada. He had strongly opposed separatism. He had won for all Canadians a Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

René Lévesque was not happy. He walked out of the final negotia- 49
tions on the new Constitution. He refused to accept the new Constitution, which included Quebec in Confederation. Lévesque felt

Queen Elizabeth II and Prime Minister Trudeau signed the Constitution in Ottawa on April 17, 1982.

betrayed by the other premiers. He returned to Quebec and won the provincial election of 1981. He **excluded** the Charter of Rights and Freedoms from Quebec laws. Then he **restricted** the use of English in Quebec. Premier Lévesque still believed that Quebec should have the right to sovereignty. His own hopes for separatism were not dead.

In the economic recession of the early 1980s, the people of Quebec had more immediate worries than nationalism and separatism: everyone was worried about the economy. Lévesque's provincial government became very unpopular. In addition, the Parti Québécois was divided: some members still strongly believed in separatism; others thought that the best thing for the Parti Québécois was to forget it. The Parti Québécois lost support. By 1985, Lévesque agreed that separatism was a dead issue. He retired from politics. In that same year, the Parti Québécois lost the provincial election to Robert Bourassa and the Liberal party. Quebeckers had had enough of separatism and nationalism; some were troubled by the fact that their province had not signed the 1982 Constitutional agreement. They felt isolated from the rest of Canada. Could there still be a way to include Quebec in the Constitution and to satisfy all the provincial and the federal governments, especially the people of Quebec?

QUESTIONS

a. Why did Trudeau want a new Constitution for Canada?
b. Why did the Constitution create conflict?
c. Why did Lévesque refuse to sign the deal?

What happened to the Constitutional debate during the Mulroney years?

In 1984, Brian Mulroney and the Progressive Conservatives won the federal election. Many believed that Mulroney, a bilingual Quebecker, understood Quebec and would look after Quebec's interests. Canadians hoped that Mulroney would be successful in finding a way to get Quebec to join in the 1982 Constitution.

Robert Bourassa's new Liberal government in Quebec wanted to guarantee Quebec's place in the Constitution as well. He gave Mulroney a list of five demands which, he said, would convince Quebeckers that federalism could work for them.

Mulroney tried twice to change the Constitution in ways that would satisfy most Canadians, including Quebeckers, First Nations people, and poorer, less powerful provinces such as Newfoundland. However, he was not successful in winning support for either the Meech Lake Amendments or the Charlottetown Accord, because different groups of Canadians **had different priorities.**

This editorial cartoon makes fun of the Meech Lake Amendments to the Constitution.

In the case of the Meech Lake Amendments, many English Canadians wanted to keep Quebec in Confederation, but they did not think

Despite considerable public disapproval, all the federal political parties and 8 out of 10 provincial legislatures agreed to accept the Meech Lake Amendment. Only Newfoundland and Manitoba rejected it.

Elijah Harper, an elected member of the Manitoba provincial legislature and a Cree, used parliamentary rules to block a vote on Meech Lake. When new negotiations were held between 1990 and 1992, the concerns of the First Nations were given much more attention.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa are shown here at the Charlottetown Conference. When the federal government held a referendum on October 26, 1992, to see if the Charlottetown Accord was acceptable to all Canadians, more than 54 per cent and a majority of votes in 6 out of 10 provinces and 1 territory rejected it.

Quebec should have special status as a "distinct society." Some Quebeckers were no longer sure that they wanted to be part of Canada; but, if they were going to remain, they demanded "special status." First Nations groups wanted more control over their lives and institutions, such as law courts and local governments. Western and Atlantic Canadians wanted more say in the making of federal decisions. They felt that Canadians in Ontario and Quebec, because of their large numbers, had too much control over federal government decisions; they felt these two provinces always gained more advantages from federal decisions than other provinces.

Lucien Bouchard, leader of the Bloc Québécois. This party is dedicated to the independence of Quebec. Its success will depend on how the federal government and Canadians from all other provinces show their commitment to a united Canada.

In the end, Canadians could not agree on any new Constitutional changes. After more than a decade of Constitutional debate, the provincial government of Quebec still has not signed the 1982 Constitution, and Westerners, Easterners, and First Nations people have been disappointed in their efforts to gain more power. Worse still, English-speaking Canadians and Québécois have become frustrated with each other; they have failed to agree on the type of Canada they want and Quebec's place in it. The frustration and tension between Quebeckers and other Canadians has increased to the point that separatism is still an important issue. Once again, the Parti Québécois has become a strong political force in the province and now there is a strong separatist party, the Bloc Québécois, operating at the federal level. If Canadians fail to make Quebeckers feel welcome and part of the country, the separatists have a good chance of being successful in their search for independence.

QUESTIONS

a. Why was Mulroney unable to get Canadians to agree to Constitutional change?
b. What evidence is there that "separatism is still an important issue"?
c. Do you know the names of the leaders of Canada's federal political parties today? Do these parties support or oppose Quebec separatism?

CASE STUDY

The Italians in Canada

Italians played an important part in the exploration of Canada's east coast in the 1500s. However, immigration started much later. In 1881, there were only about 2000 Italian Canadians. By 1991, there were more than 700 000. Italian is the largest language group in Canada after English and French.

Most Italian Canadians, about 75 per cent, live in urban areas. Toronto and Montreal have very large populations. In fact, the Italian population of Toronto (350 000) is more than the total population of major cities like Halifax or Regina. Montreal's Italian-Canadian population was 156 000 in 1986.

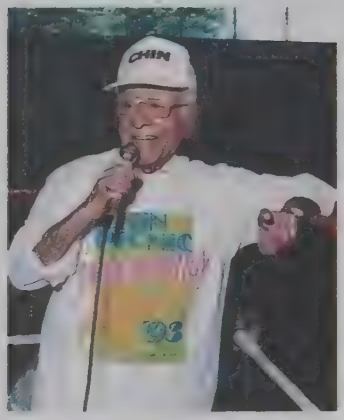
Large ethnic populations have an effect on the communities where they settle. This is especially true of Toronto and Montreal. In these cities, Italian Canadians have made an important economic contribution and have influenced architecture, food, and the arts, including media such as television.

Some Canadians have welcomed the Italian contributions to Canadian life. Others have not. For example, in Quebec, French Canadians felt threatened when Italian immigrants started entering their province. They were afraid that the Italian and English Canadians would threaten French language and culture.

The Quebec government responded in 1974, and again in 1977, by passing language laws: immigrants must send their children to French schools. In Quebec, the only students who are allowed to attend English schools are children who have an anglophone parent. The Quebec government hoped that these new laws would ensure that everyone who lives in Quebec would speak

French. Meanwhile, in the rest of Canada, most immigrant children go to English-language schools.

Like other new Canadians, Italian immigrants have overcome these problems and have become important members of Canada's new, more multicultural society.



Johnny Lombardi

CANADIANS WHO MAKE A DIFFERENCE

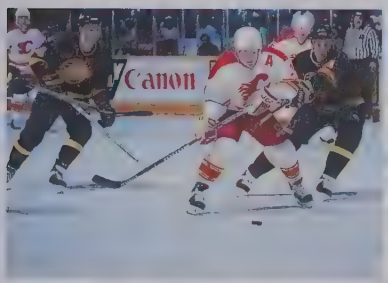
Johnny Barba-Linardo Lombardi

Also known as the "Mayor of Little Italy," Johnny Lombardi started Radio Station CHIN, to meet the needs of the Italian-Canadian community. Today, CHIN is a multicultural-multilingual radio station. It broadcasts in the languages of more than 30 cultural groups in Toronto and Southern Ontario.

In his efforts to promote the cause of multiculturalism, Johnny Lombardi also developed the annual CHIN International Picnic. Every Canada Day weekend, hundreds of thousands of people attend the world's largest free picnic. Italian singers, German bands, and Greek dancers are just a few of the entertainment events.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Canada's Economy and Culture since 1945



Hockey—Canada's most popular winter sport.

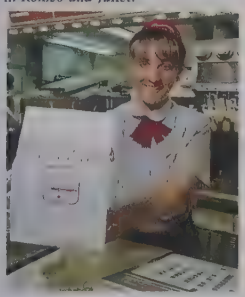
Stone-carving is an art practised by the Inuit.

Construction is an important industry.

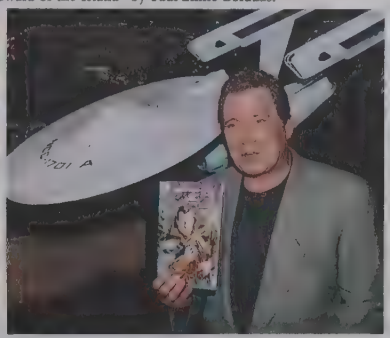
Karen Kain and Rex Harrington perform in *Romeo and Juliet*.

"Leeward of the Island" by Paul-Emile Borduas.

Tina Turner and Bryan Adams at the Juno Awards.

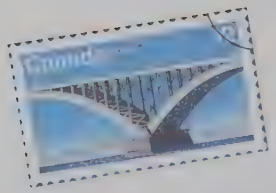


Fast food is popular.



William Shatner of *Star Trek*.

Many Canadians work in factories.



This postage stamp celebrates the building of the Peace Bridge between Canada and the United States.

This chapter is about Canada's economic and cultural development since the Second World War. Since 1945, Canada's ties to the United States have become much stronger; Canada's ties to Britain have become weaker. In this chapter, you will find out how these close ties have affected Canada's growth and development, the Canadian economy, and Canadian culture. You will also find out how Canada's economy and cultural identity have been affected by immigration from other countries.

QUESTIONS

a. Look at the pictures on the previous page and list the things that Canada and the United States share.
b. Do you think that Canadians depend too much on American culture? Why or why not?

How have Canada and the United States co-operated?

Canada and the United States have worked together to build important projects that benefit people in both countries. Two examples are the Alaska Highway and the St. Lawrence Seaway. 1

Canada and the United States worked closely together during World War II to build the Alaska Highway. When Japan attacked the U.S. Navy in Pearl Harbour, in Hawaii, the United States decided it needed a highway to the American military bases in Alaska. Canada welcomed the chance to build a highway that would open up areas of northern British Columbia and Yukon Territory. 2

Another co-operative project was the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway. The seaway allows large ocean-going ships to travel up the St. Lawrence River and through the Great Lakes to Thunder Bay in Canada and Chicago in the United States. Since 1959, the seaway has continued to be a valuable trade route, a permanent link between the two countries and the rest of the world. 3

QUESTIONS

a. On what projects did the Canadian and U.S. governments co-operate?
b. What were the advantages to both nations of each project?

What is Canada's attitude toward American investment?

Our closeness to the United States is shown clearly in economics. Americans have invested a lot of money in Canada. In the past and today, foreign investment has become a source of concern among groups of Canadians. American investment influences our economy, 4

the kinds of jobs Canadians do, and the amount of money that Canadians earn. Canadians often worry about this, and argue about the advantages and disadvantages of American investment in Canada. As a result of this conflict, Canadian governments have changed their policies on foreign investment. In the past, some governments developed policies to limit or control foreign investment. Other governments removed limits and welcomed foreign investment in Canada.

What are the advantages of American investment?

The advantages of foreign investment include higher employment, a growing economy, the development of modern technology, and the availability of many different kinds of consumer goods. 5

More than 100 years ago, John A. Macdonald's National Policy encouraged foreign companies to build factories and make their products in Canada. These factories, called branch plants because they were branches of American companies, employed Canadians, brought money into Canada, and borrowed money from Canadian banks. Often, branch plants brought new kinds of machinery and ways of producing goods to Canada. Canadian workers learned how to use, repair, and build these machines. Foreign-owned branch plants introduced Canadians to new technology. In exchange, Canada became the market for their new products. This policy continued through both world wars. Branch plants seemed beneficial to both Canadian and foreign investors. 6

QUESTIONS

a. What are the advantages of American investment in Canada?
b. How do branch plants benefit Canadians?

What are the disadvantages of American investment in Canada?

Imperial Oil Limited (Esso) is an American-owned company.

Some Canadians fear that if Canadians depend too much on foreign-owned companies for jobs, money and products, Canada will be weakened. Direct investment and branch plants are two major problems. 7

In the 1950s and 1960s, some Canadian politicians and economists were worried about the amount of U.S. direct investment. Instead of manufacturing in Canada, direct investment often meant exporting Canada's raw materials — iron, copper, lumber, oil, and gas. In the United States, these raw materials were used to make products for sale. Canadians had to buy back these expensive finished products for which they had provided the raw materials. Meanwhile, Americans kept their highly skilled jobs and their technology. 8

Branch plants are often seen as a good way to bring money and jobs to Canada. However, there are many problems. One is the amount 9

of control that the parent company has. For example, if the parent company decides to close the branch plant, Canadians lose their jobs.

Another problem is that the parent company often develops the new technology at home in the United States. As a result, highly skilled jobs for Canadian scientists and engineers do not exist in the branch plants. Often these people must leave Canada to work at the parent companies. This **brain drain** does not benefit Canadians. 10

One of the most controversial problems of branch plants is the effect of foreign ownership on Canadian culture. Some politicians and economists believe that American ownership influences managers to consider American interests before Canadian interests. As a result, American companies strongly influence advertising and marketing practices in Canada. 11

There are other problems with branch plants. For example, the managers of branch plants are usually sent from the parent company, and Canadians are not hired for these top jobs. Also, the profits that the branch plant makes from its products are returned to the parent company, not kept by the branch plant. Branch plants are often less committed to protecting the environment of another country. All these problems have made Canadians realize that branch plants are not a successful solution to the foreign investment problem. 12

Many Canadians seem to want the advantages of foreign investment — higher employment, modern technology, and the variety of consumer goods. They want more foreign investment in order to increase the number of jobs and the kinds of products that Canadians can buy. However, other Canadians are unwilling to pay the price of these advantages. 13

QUESTIONS

a. What are the disadvantages of direct investment for Canadians?
b. What are some of the negative effects of branch plants on the Canadian economy?
c. Explain how an American branch plant can affect Canadian culture.

How have various Canadian governments dealt with foreign investment?

Some governments have believed that foreign investment brings more advantages than disadvantages; therefore, they have developed policies to encourage it. Other governments have believed the opposite and have developed policies to limit or control foreign investment. 14

John A. Macdonald's Conservative government had encouraged American investment. A hundred years later, Lester Pearson and Pierre Trudeau's Liberal governments tried to put more controls on foreign investment and suggested that foreign companies should pay more taxes. The Canadian government wanted to control the purchase of 15

Canadian companies by foreign companies. The government also encouraged foreign buyers to create jobs and do more research and development in science and technology in Canada. The government paid special attention to U.S. companies that influenced Canadian culture.

These controls were not very effective; 90 per cent of the foreign companies that applied to invest in Canadian companies received permission from the Canadian government. Even so, Americans complained to the Canadian government that their investment opportunities in Canada were being limited. 16

In 1985, Brian Mulroney's Conservative government told Americans that this government was listening to their complaints. Mulroney said that Canada was again "open for business." The government encouraged foreign investment in Canada, and approved almost all applications from U.S. companies to invest in Canadian companies and take them over. 17

This editorial cartoon made fun of Mulroney's eagerness to introduce free trade.

How have Canadians' attitudes toward free trade changed?

Freer trade between Canada and the United States has been a major issue in three elections: 1891, 1911, and 1988. In 1891 and 1911, Wilfrid Laurier lost the election when he supported freer trade. Brian Mulroney won the 1988 election when he supported free trade. 18

Why do Canadians disagree about free trade?

In 1891, Canadian voters thought that they could do without American trade because their important trading partner was Britain. One 19

reason Laurier lost this election was because he wanted to increase Canadian and American trade through a free trade agreement.

By 1911, Laurier thought that Canada no longer needed tariffs. 20
Manufacturing was strong in Canada and relations with the United States were good. Tariffs had done their job. They had helped protect Canadian businesses during their early years of development. Laurier decided to negotiate a trade deal with the Americans. He thought that by lowering some tariffs and removing others, trade would increase and jobs would be created. Canadian businesses and English-Canadian workers didn't agree, and Laurier was defeated at the polls. It was only later that Canadian voters began to see the importance of the United States–Canadian trade to their lives. One cause of their change in thinking was the decrease in trade with Britain and the increase with the United States. World War II was a major cause of this change.

By 1963, all Canadians realized the need for strong trade between 21
Canada and the United States. In 1963, the Canadian auto industry was in serious trouble. Canada was importing more vehicles than it was exporting. Lester Pearson's government negotiated a special trade agreement with the United States. The Auto Pact, signed in December 1964, successfully established a beneficial partnership between Canadians and Americans. Some Canadians felt that broader free trade might bring even more factories and jobs.

After the Second World War, the leading trading countries in the 22
world agreed to reduce tariffs gradually. Canada and the United States had both signed this agreement, called the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). By 1967, tariffs had been cut by about 50 per cent on many products and by up to 80 per cent by the 1980s. In

The meeting between President Reagan and Prime Minister Mulroney was called the "Shamrock Summit" because both men shared an Irish ancestry. Here they are seen singing "When Irish Eyes Are Smiling."

the 1970s, Prime Minister Trudeau was concerned about American influence on the Canadian economy. He introduced controls on American investment in Canada.

The Americans disliked Trudeau's policies. President Ronald Reagan was happy when Mulroney won the 1984 election. In March 1985, the two men met at Quebec City and discussed defence, pollution, and trade. 23

Reagan suggested full free trade negotiations and Mulroney agreed. Canadians showed some support for free trade. The four western provinces were eager for a free trade deal, just as they had been in 1911. After 16 months of negotiations, a treaty was announced. 24

Many Canadians opposed the treaty, and Mulroney's government was not able to get the treaty passed into law. Therefore, Mulroney was forced to call a new election for November 21, 1988. 25

According to Mulroney's election speech, free trade "will create more jobs, especially for our young people, and put more money in the pockets of our workers. The Economic Council of Canada predicts that free trade will provide 250 000 additional jobs." Business supporters of free trade spent several millions of dollars trying to persuade Canadians of the advantages of free trade. The two other political parties, the Liberals and the New Democrats, argued against free trade. 26

In the end, the majority of Canadians voted for the Liberals or the NDP; most Canadians did not want free trade. But Brian Mulroney and the Conservatives won 169 seats in the House of Commons. This was more than either of the two other parties. As a result, the Free Trade Agreement became law. 27

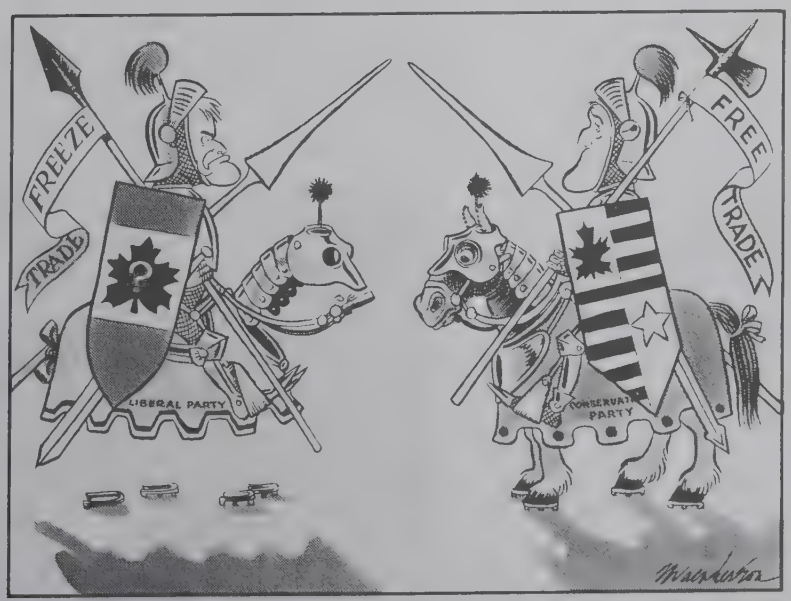
Some Arguments against the FTA

- Americans could still put tariffs on Canadian goods as a penalty.
- Canada will lose control of energy, investment, and cultural programs.
- Canada will have to change some laws that helped Canadian workers in the past.
- Competition will lead to corporate demands for lower taxes and reduced social programs.

Some Arguments for the FTA

- The price of consumer goods will be reduced.
- There will be a larger market for Canadian goods.
- It will create more jobs in export-based industries.
- Canadian companies will have to become more efficient and more productive to compete on a global scale.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Liberal Leader John Turner engaged in a heated argument during the televised debate in 1988.



Opinions on the benefits of free trade were divided.

"This agreement will provide enormous benefits for the United States. It will remove all Canadian tariffs, secure improved access to Canada's market for our manufacturing, agriculture, high technology and financial sectors, and improve our security through additional access to Canadian energy supplies. We have also gained important investment opportunities in Canada.

"I congratulate Prime Minister Mulroney."

Ronald Reagan, after the signing of FTA.

QUESTIONS

a. What is the Auto Pact?
b. What is the GATT?
c. What were the arguments in favour of free trade?
d. What were the arguments against free trade?

How has the Free Trade Agreement affected Canadians?

It is difficult to tell how the Free Trade Agreement has affected Canada. 28
Both the economy of Canada and the economy of the United States went into a recession in 1989. Many factories closed. Many workers lost their jobs.

Opponents of the FTA blamed it for the loss of many jobs in Canada. 29
Supporters of the FTA said that the recession in Canada would have been much worse *without* the Free Trade Agreement. Whatever the reason, four years after the FTA was signed, Canadian public opinion was firmly opposed to it.

In 1991, U.S. President George Bush and Mexican President Carlos 30
Salinas opened free trade discussions. Prime Minister Mulroney wanted to be included to protect Canada's interests under the FTA. The three countries worked out terms for the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The agreement had to be approved by the U.S. government, the Mexican government, and the Canadian government.

Canadian Trade Minister Michael Wilson holds up his copy of the North American Free Trade Agreement. Standing left to right: Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, U.S. President George Bush, and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

Rita MacNeil loves to sing the songs of Nova Scotia.

By this time, Mulroney and the Conservative Party had a clear majority of seats in Parliament. Their opponents, the Liberals and NDP, could not change or stop the agreement from becoming law. Many Canadians were afraid that even more jobs would be lost. They feared that many companies in Canada would move to Mexico because Mexicans work for less money, and there are fewer government regulations controlling how companies operate. They were also afraid that American influence on Canadian culture would get stronger. Many Canadians wondered if our economy, our culture, and our government would be strong enough to keep our Canadian identity. Are we different from Americans and Mexicans? Are these differences enough to make us a separate country? Or are we going to be swallowed up in continentalism, as part of one country in North America? 31

QUESTIONS

a. How do many Canadians feel about the FTA?
b. What is NAFTA?
c. Why were Canadians worried about NAFTA?
d. Do you think that NAFTA will benefit or harm Canada? Why?

Does Canada have a distinct cultural identity?

Some Canadians are insecure about our culture. We are very close to the United States. Many Canadians wonder if Canada has a culture that is distinct from that of the United States. Of course, our culture shares some things in common with that of the United States. After all, both countries were colonized by the British. This has left some shared political and social values. We also share a geography, some history, and a language. However, there are many other cultures and cultural influences in Canada as well. 32

Canadian magazine companies have complained that American magazines make more money because they attract more advertisers than Canadian magazines. Canadian magazines have also complained that American magazines do not include news about Canadians.

"We must sing our songs, dream our own dreams."

Pierre Berton, 1970

"Canadians should think about what holds them together... If they would just play more Canadian music — and it doesn't have to be my music — our young people would wake up with a tune in their minds about Montreal or Vancouver or some great Canadian that has done some great deed... I want to entertain people, sure, but that's nothing if I can't make them as proud of their country as I am."

Stompin' Tom Connors

How is Canadian culture influenced by American culture?

Entertainment in Canada is heavily influenced by American culture. Americans export their entertainment industries all over the world. There aren't many people in the world who have not heard of American "rock 'n' roll" music or Hollywood movies. Many people who are learning English like to watch movies and listen to songs from the United States. Many immigrants in Canada watch more American television shows than Canadian programs. This increases Canadian insecurity about our culture. 33

Many Canadians feel that the problem is not that Canadians don't have their own culture. The problem is that Canadians don't get enough opportunity to express their culture. If Canadians knew they had a place to express their work and ideas, Canadian arts and culture would develop. 34

Celine Dion and George Fox are popular Canadian entertainers.

QUESTIONS

a. Why are Canadians insecure about their culture?
b. Why do Canadian artists need a place to express their ideas?
c. What is Stompin' Tom Connors' message for Canadians?

What are Canada's cultural industries?

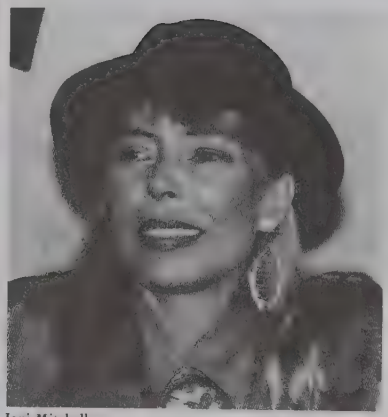
As early as the 1930s, the federal government had been involved in promoting Canadian popular culture. In 1936, the government started the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). In 1939, the National Film Board (NFB) was started. These media outlets tried to keep Canadians informed about their world. In the early 1950s, the CBC began television programming. 35

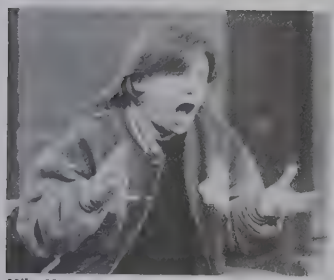
Barbara Frum interviewed Nelson Mandela for the CBC just two days after he was released from prison. Mandela spent 27 years behind bars for his political beliefs. In 1994, he was elected President of South Africa when 30 million black South Africans were eligible to vote for the first time.

Canadian Celebrities

Adrienne Clarkson

Michael J. Fox

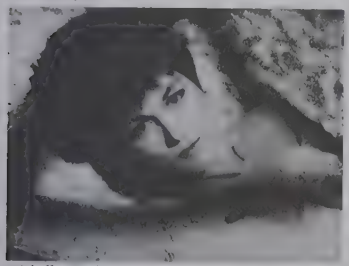

Joni Mitchell


Mike Myers

Isabelle Brasseur and
Lloyd Eisler

Liona Boyd

Michael Burgess


Michelle Wright

Maurice Richard

Bruce Cockburn

The Royal Canadian Air Farce

Buffy Sainte-Marie

Jeff Healey

Roch Voisine, the French Canadian singing sensation, is a native of New Brunswick.

Lawrence Martin says "Meegwetch" (thank you in Cree) as he accepts the 1993 Juno Award for the Best Music of Aboriginal Canada category. Not only was he the first recipient of the Juno award for this category, he was also the first aboriginal person to be elected a mayor (Sioux Lookout) in Ontario history. In addition to writing and performing songs, Lawrence Martin is also the executive director of the Wawatay Native Communications Society, which provides radio, television and newspaper communications to almost 50 reserves throughout northern Ontario.

The biggest push in making Canadian culture popular with Canadians came in 1957 with the creation of the Canada Council. The aim of the Council is to encourage the study and enjoyment of the arts, humanities, and social sciences. It supports Canadian artists' work in writing, art, music, dance, and film. 36

In 1970, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) established some rules about Canadian content in programming. Television and radio stations had to allow a certain amount of time in their schedules for the works of Canadians. This meant that in one day, Canadian television stations would have to air a certain number of hours of Canadian-made television programs; Canadian radio stations would have to play a certain number of hours of Canadian music. This gave Canadian artists exposure and created jobs. These rules have benefited Canada greatly. 37

Canadian culture has become an important part of the Canadian economy. The government spends $2 billion a year to help its development. Culture has become an industry. Think of music: Canadian musicians who work in Canada produce other jobs. People are needed to set up equipment, record the music, and produce and distribute discs, cassettes, or records. And this is only one part of the music industry. 38

Creating Canadian television programs employs performers, production crews and facilities. Canadian writers and publishers create work and make money for people who own and work in paper mills, printing plants, and retail book stores. Of course, all this income is taxed, so the whole country benefits from the industry. 39

Promoting culture involves more than economics. It encourages and provides opportunities for expression. We have writers who express ideas that Canadians enjoy reading. The number of art galleries, theatres, and museums has grown in the past 30 years. First Nations people, using their traditional and modern methods, have started to share their views of Canada with the larger Canadian culture. 40

The result is that this country now has its own writers, architects, scholars, painters, dramatists, sculptors, composers, performers, and musicians. These are the people who reflect and contribute to our country's culture. 41

QUESTIONS

a. How has the Canadian government tried to encourage Canadian culture?
b. Has the Canadian government been successful in making Canadian culture more popular with Canadians?
c. Has the Canadian government been successful in making Canadian culture more popular with people in other countries?
d. How many of the faces do you recognize in this chapter?

1 Margaret Atwood, writer
2 Moshe Safdie, architect
3 David Suzuki, scientist and broadcaster
4 Oscar Peterson, musician

1

2

3

4

How does Canadian culture affect Canadian society?

What is our culture and what does it tell us about Canadians? A culture is hard to define. It involves everything that makes a society—language, the arts, how and where people work and live, their attitudes, their opinions, and how they think. Let's look at some aspects of Canadian society. 42

Canada is an industrialized society. Most Canadians live in cities and work in factories and offices. Canadians enjoy the latest technology. Compared with the rest of the world, Canadians are rich. More than 62 per cent of Canadians own their own homes. 43

The population of Canada is made up of people from all over the world. Most Canadians are descendants of immigrants who came to Canada within the past 150 years. While English and French may be the official languages of the country, millions of Canadians speak other languages as well. Canada's population may have the largest percentage of bilingual speakers in the world! This population is spread over 44

1

2

3

4

5

1 Newfoundland skipper at the wheel.
2 Visitors at Stanley Park in Vancouver.
3 A street in Ottawa.
4 Winterlude is Ottawa's annual winter festival.
5 Cyclists near Kitchener, Ontario.

the surface of the second largest country in the world. Some regions are poorer than others, but all Canadians receive the same social benefits.

What do Canadians believe in? Canadians complain about high taxes but demand the social services that these taxes support. They accept an individual's right to make profits, but they believe that society has

a responsibility to share its wealth for the benefit of all. They complain about the cold weather, but they wouldn't want to live anywhere else. They enjoy the beauty and variety of four distinct seasons.

Canadians expect the government to take an active role in almost 46
all aspects of life to help deal with problems such as the country's vast area and its small population. Canadians expect peace in the world. They like their government to participate in world affairs, so that conflicts are solved peacefully. They are believers in fairness.

Most Canadians welcome different ideas. They welcome different 47
immigrant groups and are pleased to see that many of these groups keep some of the culture of their homelands. Perhaps this is because so many of them are immigrants themselves. On the other hand, Canadian society is not perfect. Canadians can be unfair; there is social injustice and intolerance.

Artists, writers, and performers reflect both the positive and nega- 48
tive aspects of Canadian society. When they do so, they are recognizing and spreading knowledge of Canadian society and culture. Canadian culture may be similar to other cultures in many ways but taken as a whole, Canadian culture is a unique combination of the many cultures that have met and mixed here gradually over the years.

QUESTIONS

a. Do you agree or disagree with the characterization of Canadians in these paragraphs?
b. Compare aspects of Canadian culture with aspects of another culture that are familiar to you.

CASE STUDY

West Indians in Canada

In Chapter One, you read about the first African Canadians. When Canada changed its immigration laws in the late 1960s, many people of African descent came to Canada from the countries of the Caribbean area (sometimes called the West Indies). Most of these people were British subjects or former British subjects because many of these countries had been British colonies. Many immigrants from the Caribbean were well-educated, and almost all spoke English. In 1961, there were only about 12 000 Canadians of Caribbean descent. By 1991, the number had increased to 94 395. Most of these Caribbean immigrants came from Jamaica, Trinidad, and Guyana. The majority came from Jamaica. From the 1970s to 1989, Jamaica was among the top 10 countries sending immigrants to Canada.

Caribbean Canadians can be found in all parts of Canada. Like most recent immigrants, they have settled in urban areas. About 70 per cent of Caribbean immigrants have settled in Ontario; about 50 per cent in Toronto. Many French-speaking Haitians have made Montreal their home.

Like other visible minorities, immigrants from the Caribbean often face discrimination. For example, a recent Toronto newspaper poll showed that

while 26 per cent of immigrants faced discrimination, the average for Canadians of African ancestry was 41 per cent. Despite being well-educated, many Caribbean immigrants are unable to find work that matches their skills.

> "During those early days, I left applications and résumés at every Toronto media house. My hopes rose when I learned there was an opening at the Canadian Press news agency. Believing my experience at Reuters and the Caribbean News Agency would be an asset, I asked for the editor concerned. The man said he would be delighted to chat with me. He told me his desk was right across from the elevator, so he would see me when I got off.
>
> "The conversation sounded so promising, but when I got off the elevator, the man at the nearest desk checked his watch and frowned. I waited. Eventually, he said, 'Are you Mr. Foster?' He apologized for promising me an interview. He should have known it was going to be a busy day and he wouldn't have time for a longish chat. In any case, the opening he had in mind was filled, but he'd keep me in mind."
>
> *Journalist Cecil Foster, from Barbados*
> *From* Chatelaine *(November, 1992)*

Many Caribbean immigrants have experienced frustration in their efforts to contribute fully to Canada's economic life. Yet Caribbean musicians, artists, and writers have contributed a great deal to Canada's cultural mosaic. Many have received international recognition for their work in Canada.

Caribana, a festival started in 1967 by Caribbean Canadians to celebrate the Canadian Centennial, is another example of their contribution. Caribana has now grown into North America's largest event for and by any immigrant group. Many people come to Toronto just to watch, participate in, and celebrate this rich cultural heritage that is now part of Canadian culture.

The annual Caribana Parade in Toronto attracts thousands of spectators.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Being or Becoming a Canadian

Directing traffic during road construction.

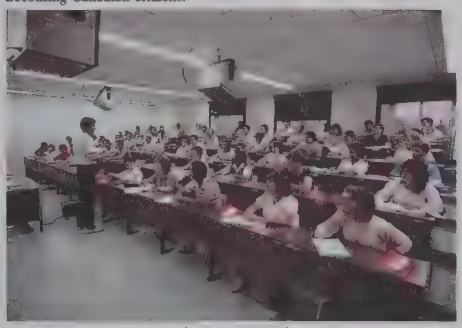
Swearing the Oath of Allegiance.

Citizenship Court judges.

RCMP officers get their man.

Campaigning for a seat in Parliament.

Becoming Canadian citizens.



Students at the University of New Brunswick.

A Canadian passport.

Oath of Allegiance

I swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, Queen of Canada, Her Heirs and Successors, according to law and that I will faithfully observe the laws of Canada and fulfil my duties as a Canadian citizen.

This chapter has a lot of information that you need to be — or to become — a responsible Canadian citizen. You will learn about the rights and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship. You will learn more about how Canada's systems of government work, and how the law works to protect citizens. You will also find out how to participate in a democratic system of government.

QUESTIONS

a. A Canadian citizen enjoys the freedom to participate in Canadian society in many ways. What are some of these?
b. Being a Canadian citizen also means that you have some responsibilities. What do you think these are?

How do people become Canadian citizens?

A Canadian citizen is someone who has the right to live in Canada and who has certain rights and privileges, such as the right to vote in elections. Canadian-born people are automatically citizens. Children who are born in other countries, but whose parents are Canadian, may also be Canadian citizens. Today, the largest group of new citizens are people who were born in other countries and who came here as immigrants. Most immigrants come to Canada because they hope for a better life, with more opportunity and more freedom. Most of these new immigrants later choose to become Canadian citizens. 1

All landed immigrants who are 18 years of age and who have lived in Canada for at least three years can apply to become Canadian citizens. Children or teenagers who are under 18 are usually included in their parents' application, although some parents wait until they themselves have received their citizenship before applying for their children. 2

The process of becoming a Canadian citizen has three steps. First, the applicant has to fill in an application and submit documents to support the application. Then, the applicant has a hearing at the Citizenship Court. At this hearing, a judge asks questions to make sure the applicant has enough knowledge about Canada to become a responsible citizen. Finally, if the applicant is accepted for citizenship, there is a court ceremony where the applicant promises to be a loyal citizen of Canada, and receives a certificate of citizenship. 3

Some Canadian citizens are citizens of other countries as well; for example, some immigrants can become Canadian citizens and keep the citizenship of their country of origin. However, some countries do not allow their citizens to have more than one citizenship. Citizens of these countries will lose their citizenship if they become Canadian citizens. On the other hand, some countries consider all their citizens to be citizens forever, even after receiving Canadian citizenship. In this case, if former citizens visit their country of origin, they are con- 4

This young girl is holding her copy of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which she received when she became a Canadian citizen.

sidered citizens of that country and must obey all the laws of that country, including laws that force some people to join the army. It is very important to find out about the laws of citizenship before visiting another country.

QUESTIONS

a. When may a landed immigrant become a Canadian citizen?
b. What are the three steps of the citizenship process in Canada?
c. What countries do you know of that allow their citizens to be citizens of other countries as well?
d. What countries do you know of that do not allow their citizens to be citizens of other countries as well?

What are the rights and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship?

People want to become Canadian citizens for many reasons. Most hope 5
to enjoy all the basic rights and freedoms of Canadian society. In 1982, some of these basic rights and freedoms were listed in the Constitution under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Along with these rights come many responsibilities.

The Charter makes it easier for Canadians to learn their rights and 6
for judges to defend and protect Canadians' rights from wrong or unfair actions by our laws or government officials. Canadians have these rights and freedoms as long as they obey and respect Canadian laws; no one should be able to take away anyone's rights and freedoms. But if there is a conflict about someone's rights and freedoms, law courts and judges have the responsibility of resolving the conflict and of making sure everyone's rights are respected.

What are the basic rights and freedoms in Canada?

Canadians are guaranteed certain basic rights. They have the right to 7
speak, write, and meet freely. They may enter, leave, and move within Canada freely. They have certain legal rights when dealing with the government, the police, and the courts. All Canadians have equal rights. Each province has a Human Rights Code. There is also a Canadian Human Rights Code. According to these codes, discrimination against people because of race, national origin, skin colour, religion, sex, age, or any disability is illegal.

If your rights as a Canadian citizen are violated, you can take legal 8
action. For example, what can you do when a person refuses to give you a job, rent you an apartment, or pays you less money to work at a job than another person because of, for example, your skin colour? You can complain to the Human Rights Commission, which will investigate your complaint. The goal of the Commission is to resolve con-

flicts between people. If the conflict cannot be resolved, the Commission may take legal action against the person who violated your rights.

QUESTIONS

a. What rights do Canadians have?
b. What can you do if your rights are violated?

Another way to protect your rights is to make your complaint public. Canadians have freedom of expression; we are free to ask questions, express opinions, make complaints, write letters, and give speeches. If Canadians have concerns, sharing them with government officials or making them public through newspaper, radio, or television often produces fast results. But Canadians are not free to do anything or everything they like. You must respect other citizens' rights and freedoms, even when you disagree with them. You must speak and write honestly about others. If you say something that is not true about another person, you have not respected that other person's rights. You may be taken to court. Freedom comes with responsibilities. 9

People in Canada are also free to unite for a common purpose. For example, neighbours may work as a group to keep a local park. Parents may demand changes to the school program. Members of a community may unite to protest an increase in taxes. The right to join a group is called freedom of association. This freedom is guaranteed as long as the group's goals and methods are legal. 10

A demonstration by a large group attracts the attention of the media and the politicians. It is one way for people to exercise political power. 11

Organized meetings, marches, demonstrations, and strikes are examples of the freedom of peaceful assembly. Acting together gives people more power.

This is the true meaning of democracy. But does this mean that any large group of people has the right to do what it wants? For example, if a large group of people gathered after a baseball game and started to break store windows, would this be a guaranteed right in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms? The answer is no; the freedom of assembly guarantees that people can meet for peaceful purposes, not for violence; and the reason for getting together in order to break store windows is not a lawful reason. Breaking store windows ignores the rights of the store owners and disturbs the peace of the neighbours. So there are limits on our freedoms.

There are laws to control our freedom. A group planning a march must get permission from the municipal government and, in some cities, from the police. The marchers must state their reason for marching and their intended route. On the day, the police will stop traffic and protect the marchers. Marchers must provide marshals to control their members, obey the law, and respect the property of others. 12

Violence and attacks on others and on property are illegal. Police action may be necessary, and people may be arrested. Riots do occur sometimes in Canada, but marches are still permitted. Canadians believe that this is an important freedom in a democratic country. They accept the risk of a riot as the price of freedom. 13

ri•ot *n.*, **1** a wild, violent public disturbance; disorder caused by an unruly crowd or mob.

Terrorism is the use of violence to persuade other people of a group's political beliefs. In Chapter Ten, you read about the FLQ, a Canadian terrorist organization that was active between 1963 and 1971. Today, terrorism is still unacceptable in a democratic country like Canada. In a democracy, there is always a peaceful way of making your opinions heard because you have the rights and freedoms to voice your opinions; violence is not necessary and it is harmful. 14

Staging a demonstration is one way people in Canada exercise political power.

QUESTIONS

a. Explain the following terms: freedom of expression; freedom of association; freedom of assembly.
b. What countries do you know of where citizens do not have the same freedoms as Canadians?

What are the responsibilities of Canadian citizenship?

Along with important rights and freedoms, Canadians have important responsibilities. For example, Canadians have to pay taxes in order to pay for government services. Canadians have to obey the law, and respect the rights of others. 15

One of our most important democratic rights is the right to vote. When you vote, you also participate in the decisions affecting your country, province, or community. Voting is a responsibility. For this reason, it is important to understand how the levels of government work, how to vote, and how you can become involved in politics. 16

Why does Canada have three levels of government?

Because of the vast size of this country and the different needs of people in different regions, government is sometimes rather complicated. There are three levels of government in Canada, each with its own responsibilities. The federal and provincial governments were created by Confederation in 1867. Each province creates a third level, the municipal governments — cities, towns, and rural districts. 17

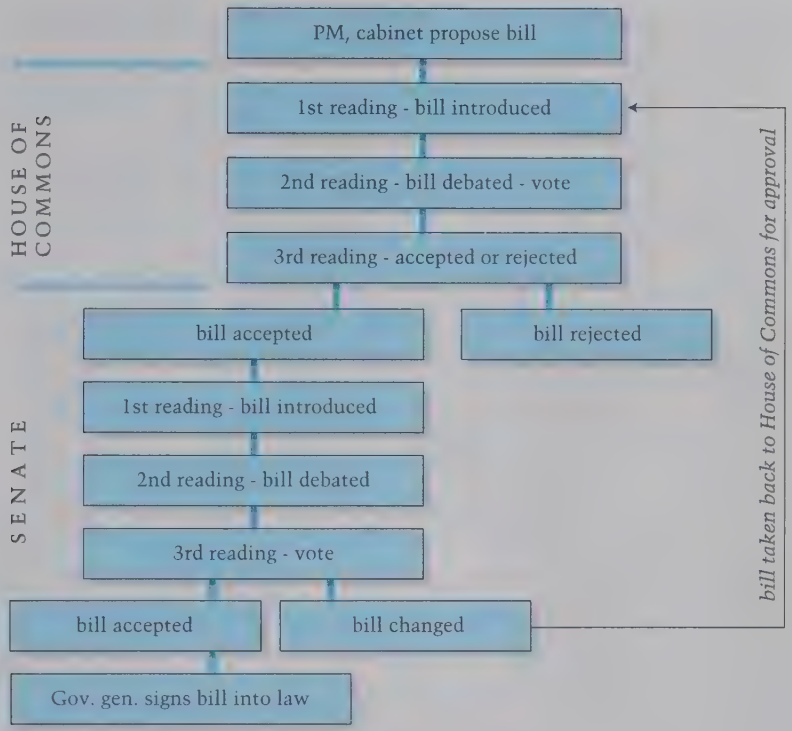
The different responsibilities and powers of the three levels of government sometimes become difficult to follow. Sometimes, government in Canada becomes even more complicated because, for example, the provinces want to increase their power and reduce the power of the federal government. When this happens, the division of responsibilities and powers between federal and provincial governments must be decided in the courts or negotiated in Constitutional changes. 18

How do Canada's governments work?

Even though their responsibilities and powers are different, all three levels of Canadian government work in a similar way. Governments have three major functions. Probably their most important function is to create laws. This is called the legislative function of government. 19

Proposing laws, preparing budgets and making sure that people follow the laws is the executive function of government. What good are laws if no one follows or enforces them? The federal government employs more than half a million people across the country to make sure that federal laws are enforced. 20

Figure 12.1 How Federal Laws Are Made


PM, cabinet propose bill
1st reading - bill introduced
2nd reading - bill debated - vote
3rd reading - accepted or rejected
HOUSE OF COMMONS
bill accepted
bill rejected
1st reading - bill introduced
2nd reading - bill debated
3rd reading - vote
SENATE
bill accepted
bill changed
bill taken back to House of Commons for approval
Gov. gen. signs bill into law

The third function of government is the judicial function. This function is carried out by the judges and the courts. Sometimes there are conflicts between citizens or between citizens and government officials. Was the citizen obeying the speed limit or speeding? Did the builder use the proper materials or break the building code? Is the traveller bringing into Canada only what is allowed, or smuggling? Did the employer have good reason to fire the employee, or was it a case of discrimination? These are the kinds of conflicts that end up in court for judges to help solve. Judges, who are fair, or impartial, listen to the facts and interpret the law. 21

Federal Responsibilities
- Unemployment insurance
- Collecting income tax and GST
- Controlling immigration
- Royal Canadian Mounted Police
- Operating prisons
- Providing military defence
- Canada Pension and Old Age Security payments
- Providing veterans' allowances and disability pensions
- Postal services
- Regulation of food and drugs
- Shipping and air travel

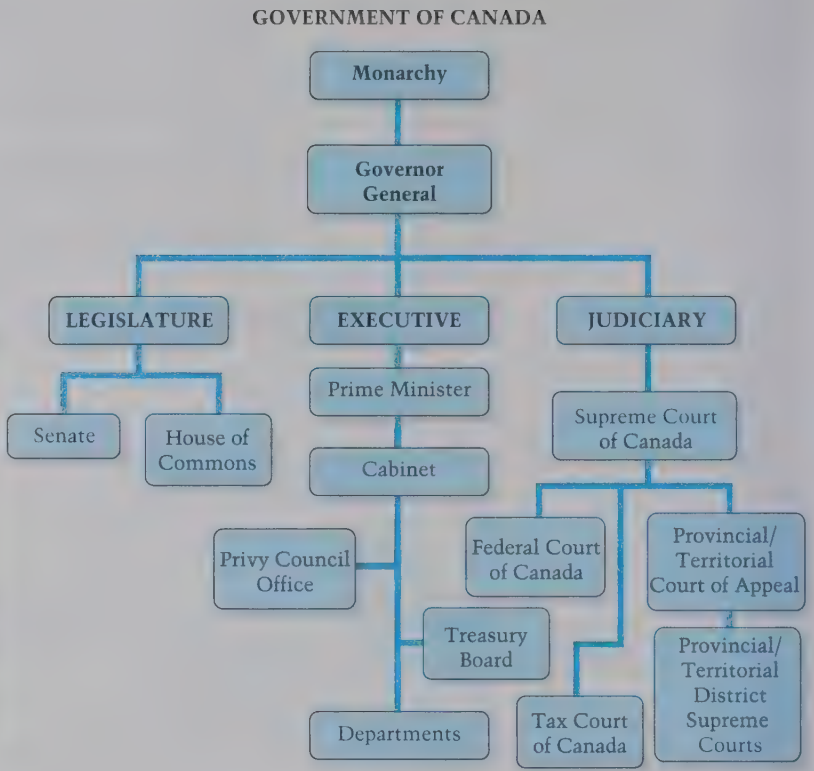
What is the federal government?

Figure 12.2 shows you the make up of the federal government — the Monarch, the Governor General, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, the House of Commons, the Senate, and the Supreme Court of Canada. 22

Parliament, which is one part of the government, is made up of the Monarch and the Governor General, the House of Commons, and the Senate. They must all agree before any legislation can become law in Canada. Only the federal government can make laws for all of Canada. 23

Before 1867, Queen Victoria ruled the colonies in British North America. At Confederation, when Canada became a country, it was 24

Figure 12.2 Organization of the Federal Government



Queen Elizabeth II.

The Right Honourable Ramon John Hnatyshyn, Governor General of Canada.

decided that Canada would keep its tie to Great Britain by having the same monarch. The king or queen of Britain became Canada's symbolic head of state. Queen Victoria became Queen of Canada. Now Queen Elizabeth II is our monarch and the symbolic head of the Canadian government.

The Queen has little or no part to play in Canadian government. 25
On her visits to Canada she performs the functions normally done in her name by the Governor General. These events provide pageantry and tradition.

Because the Queen lives in Britain, her representative in Canada 26
carries out her legal and symbolic duties. This is the Governor General.

Usually, the Prime Minister recommends a person for the position 27
of Governor General, and the person is formally appointed by the monarch. The Governor General follows the Prime Minister's advice on all important matters.

The Governor General represents the Queen in Canada. Bills passed 28
in the Senate do not become law until the Governor General has given them royal assent. The Governor General formally opens and dissolves Parliament and appoints all superior court judges on the advice of Cabinet.

Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, Canada's 20th prime minister.

Jean Chrétien's Cabinet at the swearing-in ceremony in Ottawa on November 4, 1993.

The leader of the political party with the most elected Members of Parliament usually becomes the Prime Minister. He or she also holds a seat as a Member of Parliament. The Prime Minister has control over appointments and the authority to dissolve Parliament. The Prime Minister can also create or shut down Crown corporations and bureaucratic agencies. 29

Cabinet ministers are chosen from among the elected MPs by the Prime Minister. They help run the government and give the Prime Minister advice and suggestions about different responsibilities, such as taxes, transportation, First Nations people, the army, immigration, citizenship, and foreign policy. 30

Cabinet ministers advise the Prime Minister on what new legislation is needed in the country, and how to carry out the government's responsibilities. 31

The Senate

Senators are not elected. They are appointed by the Governor General on the recommendation of the Prime Minister. They are picked from people across the country. They sit in the Senate until the age of 75. Normally, there are 104 Senators in the Senate. The Senate helps make federal laws. Senators can also suggest their own bills. 32

The Senate's chief role is to inspect each bill carefully and hear evidence from anyone who may be affected by the proposed legislation. The Senate provides "sober second thought" on legislation and has the power of veto, which it rarely uses. 33

The people who win the federal election in their ridings become Members of Parliament and members of the House of Commons. Some are members of the party in power. Others are members of the Opposition. It is the Opposition's job to make sure the government is being run in the best interests of the country. 34

The members of the House of Commons make laws to govern Canada. They represent the people in their ridings, support or oppose ideas for laws (bills) by speaking in the House of Commons, vote on bills, and make changes in the bill if the Senate wants changes made. 35

The House of Commons

Supreme Court and Federal Court judges interpret the laws made by Parliament. Judges are appointed by the Prime Minister and the Cabinet. Judges are paid by the federal government, but are **independent** of the government. Their actions are guided by rules of law, not government policy. 36

The Prime Minister and the Cabinet are responsible for carrying out and enforcing the laws created by Parliament. Of course, they cannot do everything themselves. They hire people called **civil servants** to make sure the laws are enforced. The duties of civil servants vary. 37

Justices of the Supreme Court of Canada.

QUESTIONS

a. If you were going to work for the federal government, which job would you choose?
b. What advantages or disadvantages would this job have?
c. Would you have a lot of responsibility? or a little?

Provincial Responsibilities
- Providing education
- Providing health care
- Providing police services (can be delegated to large municipalities)
- Collecting provincial taxes
- Building, maintaining, and repairing highways
- Licensing of drivers and motor vehicles
- Promoting tourism
- Municipal governments
- Providing workers' compensation
- Environmental protection

What are the provincial governments?

Each of the 10 provinces has a provincial government. It is made up 38
of the legislature, a premier and cabinet, a lieutenant-governor, judges, courts, and civil servants. There is no Senate at the provincial level. The Yukon and Northwest Territories do not yet have provincial governments; they are still under federal government control. However, they have some elected representatives on the Councils that run the territories.

In each province, voters elect representatives to the provincial legis- 39
lature. These representatives are called Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs), Members of the House of Assembly (MHAs), Mem-

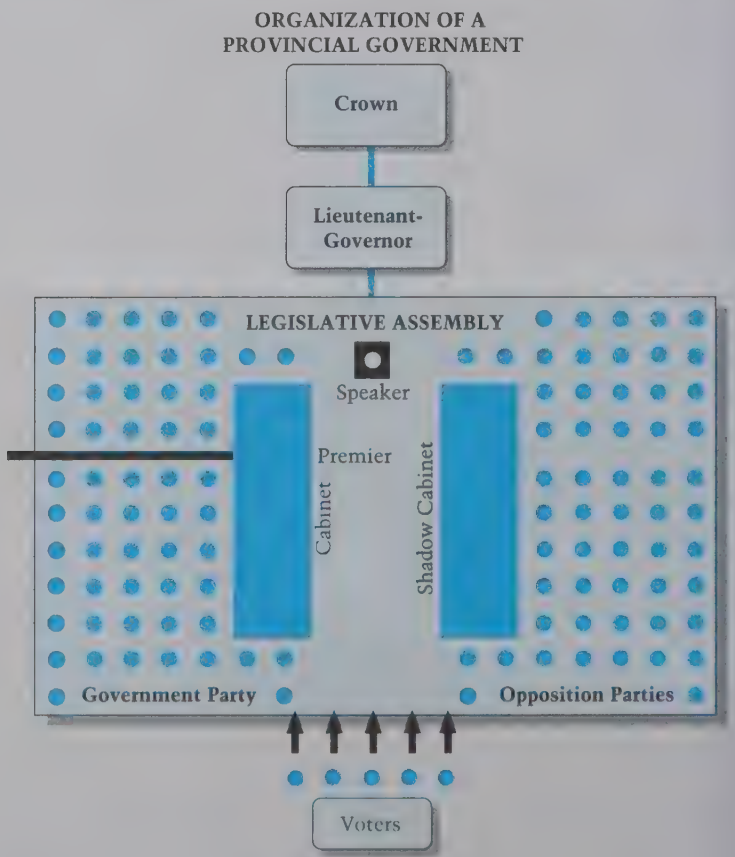


Figure 12.3 Organization of a Provincial Government

Lincoln Alexander was the first person of African descent to be appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario.

bers of the National Assembly in Quebec, or Members of Provincial Parliament (MPPs). The leader of the party with the most seats in the legislature usually becomes the premier of the province. As at the federal level, the premier chooses a cabinet to help run the province. The members of the opposition parties perform the same duties as at the federal level.

Members of the legislature create laws for their province. A bill can become law once the majority of the members has voted for the bill three times, and the lieutenant-governor of the province signs it. 40

The lieutenant-governor is the Queen's representative in the province and is appointed by the governor general of Canada on the prime minister's advice. The lieutenant-governor has a veto: he or she can refuse to sign bills that violate federal powers or policy. This rarely happens. The lieutenant-governor almost always accepts the advice of the premier. 41

QUESTIONS

a. If you were going to work in the provincial government, which job would you choose?
b. What advantages or disadvantages would this job have?
c. Would you have a lot of responsibility? or a little?

Municipal Responsibilities

- Collecting property taxes
- Snow and garbage removal
- Animal control
- Licensing new businesses
- Controlling the heights of property fences
- Putting up stop lights
- Building sewers and roads
- Noise control
- Providing police service (in large municipalities)
- Safety inspections of new and renovated buildings
- Fire protection

What are municipal governments?

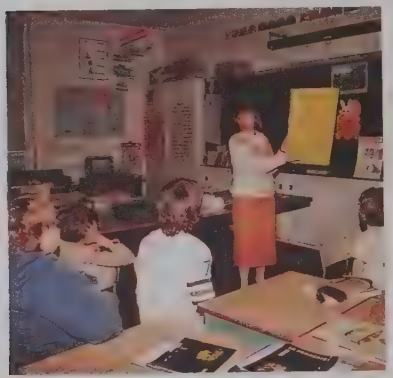
Municipal governments are local governments. Local governments are organized by each province at the village, town, city, township, county, district, or regional level. The organization depends on the history, the people, and the needs of the area. 42

Municipal governments are responsible for local concerns and issues, 43

such as sanitation, or garbage collection, local roads, and property registration. They pass local laws, called bylaws, and collect property taxes to pay for the cost of providing services in their area. Everyone who owns land or buildings must pay property taxes to the municipal government.

Towns and cities are divided into wards. The voters in a ward elect one or two representatives to the council. There is usually no political party system in municipal politics. The mayor, or leader of city government, is elected directly by all voters in all wards.

Which level of government is responsible for the services indicated in these photos?



1 Education

2 Fire protection

3 Mail delivery

4 Libraries

5 Ambulance services

6 Police

Rural areas are often organized as townships or municipal districts. 45
Their governments do not provide as many services as city councils, but the taxes are lower. Their councillors can choose one from among themselves to act as leader of the government.

QUESTIONS

a. What are municipal laws called?
b. How do municipal governments pay for road repairs?
c. Why are taxes usually lower in smaller communities than in cities?

What is the judicial system?

The judicial system is the system of courts and judges that interprets 46
the law and protects the rights of citizens. In Canada, judges are independent of and separate from the rest of the government. Different courts hear different types of cases and several higher courts hear appeals. The courts are involved with many types of laws: constitutional law, dealing with how the country is governed; civil law, dealing with how individuals and private organizations must behave toward each other; and criminal law, dealing with actions that are dangerous to society.

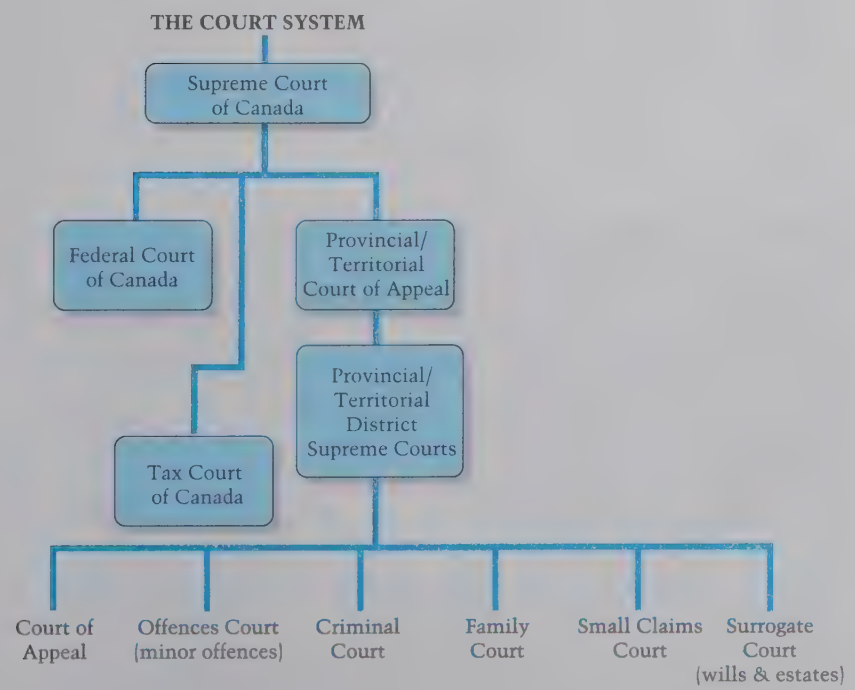


Figure 12.4 The Court System

How is the judicial system organized?

Canada's judicial system is independent of the government and the political system. This is very important in a democracy, where everyone is equal before the law. For example, in Canada, citizens whose rights have been violated by the government can go to the courts for justice. The prime minister and the cabinet appoint judges to the Supreme Court of Canada, the Federal Court of Canada, the Supreme Courts of each province, and the district or county courts in each province; but the politicians cannot interfere with the way the judges make their decisions. Similarly, the premier and cabinet of each province appoint judges to their provincial courts; but once they are appointed, the judges operate independently. Judges are usually well-trained lawyers with a lot of experience in the practice of law. They hold their jobs permanently, until the age of 75. 47

The Supreme Court of Canada is the highest court in the country. It has nine judges. They review cases that have already been tried by lower courts. The Supreme Court judges decide if the law was applied correctly in the cases they review. They also resolve conflicts between the federal and provincial governments to decide which level has the right to make laws in particular areas. 48

Since the introduction of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, the Supreme Court of Canada has become very important. The Constitution Act of 1982 gave judges the power to decide whether federal, provincial, or municipal laws violate the rights of citizens. Judges may actually take laws off the books, or remove part of a law if they believe it is unconstitutional. 49

QUESTIONS

a. When do appointed judges have to retire?
b. When do most other people have to retire from their jobs?
c. Do you think it's a good idea for judges to work so much longer than most other people?
d. Do you think it would be a good idea for people in other occupations, such as teachers, train drivers, doctors, or factory workers, to work until age 75? Why or why not?
e. What countries do you know of where the courts are not independent of the politicians? What problems does this cause?

How does Canadian law work?

The many types of law in Canada may be divided into public or private law. Public law includes criminal and constitutional law. For most people, criminal law is the most exciting. Criminal law is dramatic. It receives a lot of attention from the media. Many times, the more shocking the crime, the more it is used for movies, TV shows, best- 50

selling books, and TV talk shows. But, in most people's lives, public, or civil law, is much more important. Civil law makes sure that relationships between individuals and organizations are orderly. Let's look at how these different kinds of law work in Canada.

Examples of Civil Wrongs

- Breach of contract
- Trespassing
- Slander and libel
- Battery
- Negligence
- Unsafe premises

Civil law is responsible for resolving conflicts or disagreements over relationships between individuals and other individuals or organizations. Civil law must also guarantee that individuals do not ignore the rights and freedoms of others in business, in the workplace, in property, in contracts, and in families. For example, if a salesperson sold you a product that did not work and would not exchange the product, what would you do? If someone built a fence that was unsafe, and that fence fell over onto the neighbour's garden, killing the neighbour's flowers, what could the neighbour do? If a husband and wife decided to get a divorce and each wanted to have the house and the children, what would they do? How can the conflict between these people be resolved so that everyone is satisfied, and everyone's rights are respected? 51

These are the kinds of conflicts that the civil law deals with. Judges in the civil courts try to resolve conflicts as fairly as they can. People who believe that their rights have been violated in some way may go to court and sue another individual or a company or an organization over broken contracts, or damage to their property, or reputations. 52

Examples of Criminal Offences

- Arson
- Mischief and vandalism
- Theft
- Assault and sexual assault
- Criminal negligence
- Homicide

In the area of public law, criminal law deals with acts that are dangerous to society. Some criminal acts are offences against property, such as theft or vandalism; some are offences against persons, such as assault or murder; and some are offences against society in general, such as drug offences, environmental offences, pornography, or illegal possession of weapons. 53

The Criminal Code of Canada lists the offences and their penalties, or punishments, for all of Canada. Criminal offences are actions that 54

This police officer is investigating a robbery. Is this a civil offence or a criminal offence?

society considers very dangerous. For example, when a child is sexually abused and murdered, all Canadians are angry and shocked. It doesn't matter where the child lived in Canada. For this reason, society pays for the police, prosecutors, courts, judges, probation officers, and prison guards to deal with criminals. The Criminal Code of Canada lists what the maximum punishment for a crime is; it is up to the judge to decide how severe or how long the punishment will be.

In Canada, the most severe punishment is imprisonment for life. 55
However, all offenders are eligible for parole after serving one-third of their jail sentences or seven years, whichever is less. Parole is early release for good behaviour. After serving two-thirds of a sentence, all offenders *must* be considered for parole. It is not legal in Canada to inflict physical punishment or torture on criminals. There is also no capital punishment — death penalty — in Canada.

Some Canadians believe that the punishment for some crimes should 56
be more severe. For example, some Canadians believe that capital punishment is the only way to reduce the number of murders.

Other Canadians believe that punishment is often ineffective in 57
changing the behaviour of criminals. Many criminals are people who have suffered from physical, psychological, and sexual abuse in their own families. Many criminals have grown up in poverty and have very low levels of education. Some people believe that criminals like these need help rather than punishment.

QUESTIONS

a. Name three actions that are criminal offences in Canada.
b. Name three actions that are civil wrongs in Canada.
c. What countries do you know of where capital punishment is legal? For what offences?

How do elections work in Canada?

Because we have three different levels of government in Canada, we 58
have three types of elections: federal, provincial, and municipal. All three types work much the same way.

Who can vote?

Eligible Voters

Canadian citizens who are:
- at least 18 years of age;
- residents in the riding;
- registered on the voters' list.

Before you can vote, your name must be on the voters' list. How do 59
you get on the list? When an election is announced, the names of all the people who live at your address who are eligible to vote are recorded. A notice of enumeration is sent to your address confirming that the names on the notice are on the voters' list. On election day, voters take the notice of enumeration to the local polling station, where they can vote.

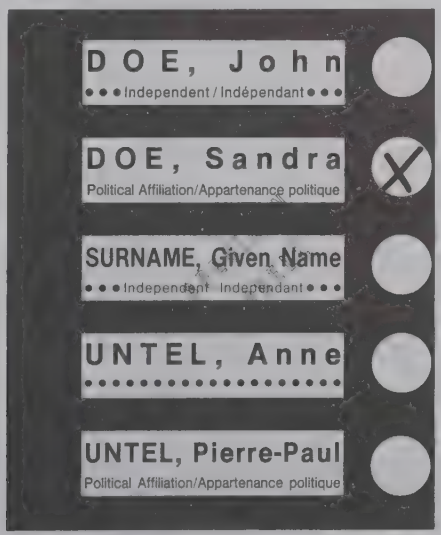
If you are not at home when the enumerators visit, they will leave a card that tells you how to get on the voters' list.

Voting, which is called "exercising your franchise," is not only a right, it is a responsibility.

How do Canadians vote?

In Canada, voting is private. There are many special rules about voting in Canada to make sure that everyone is free to choose in privacy, without pressure from anyone. At the polling station, each voter gets a folded piece of paper, called a ballot, with candidates' names printed on it. The voter goes into a private voting booth to make his or her choice, and refolds the ballot so that no one can see what choice the voter has made. The folded ballot is then returned and put into the ballot box. 60

It is important to mark your choice on the ballot properly — with an X; if you do not mark it this way, the ballot will be "spoiled." Spoiled ballots are not counted.



Federal Election Results, 1993

Liberal	178
Bloc Québécois	54
Reform	52
New Democratic Party	8
Progressive Conservative	2
Independent	1
Total	295

How are federal elections organized?

For federal elections, the country is divided into 295 voting areas called 61
ridings. There should be about the same number of voters in each riding, but people move. Some cities grow and others shrink, while rural areas and small towns often decline in population. So every 10 years, the people are counted in a census. If necessary, the size and number of ridings are changed to keep the number of people in each riding more or less equal.

In a federal election, the voters in each riding elect one Member 62
of Parliament, or MP, to represent them in the House of Commons. The MP is the candidate who received the most votes in the riding.

The leader of the party that wins the largest number of ridings, or 63
seats in the House of Commons, becomes prime minister. The leader of the party that comes in second becomes the leader of the Opposition.

How do Canadians participate in elections?

Many Canadians like to be involved in an election. They put election 64
signs on their lawns or in their windows to show their support for the candidates they like. Some people become even more involved. They join political parties and help with their candidate's campaign. There are several ways to help in a campaign. For example, you can try to persuade other people that your candidate is a good leader for your community; you can welcome people who come to the campaign office and give them information about your candidate. You can apply to be an election official, such as an enumerator; this is a good way to participate in an election, especially if you are able to speak more than one language. You get paid, too! Sometimes people need an enumerator who knows how to speak their language to get their names on the voters' list; sometimes people need translators when they get to the polling station.

Other Canadians decide to run for office themselves. This is another 65
right you have as a citizen. You could even become Prime Minister of Canada!

QUESTIONS

a. Name the three types of elections we have in Canada.
b. How do Canadians get on the voters' list?
c. How can you become more involved in an election?

CASE STUDY

Immigrants and Refugees from Asia

The Immigration Act of 1967 took away the last restrictions on Asian immigration. Before 1960, Asian immigrants were less than 5 per cent of all newcomers; by the 1980s they were more than 46 per cent. Most of the Asian

immigrants were Chinese from Hong Kong. Educated, financially secure people from Hong Kong were able to take advantage of Canada's more open immigration policy. Hong Kong families sent their children to Canada to go to Canadian universities. In 1997, Hong Kong will once again be controlled by Communist China. As the date approaches, many Hong Kong Chinese have decided to make Canada their home.

After 1968, Hong Kong was one of the top five countries sending immigrants to Canada. By 1991, there were 586 645 Canadians of Chinese descent. Chinese-language speakers represented the fifth largest language group in Canada, after English, French, Italian, and German.

Other Asians, particularly the Southeast Asians, have come under much more difficult circumstances. There were 961 225 Canadians of East and Southeast Asian origin in 1991: 80 005 were Vietnamese; 157 250 were Filipinos; 13 365 were Laotians; 44 095 were Koreans. Most came after 1975, many as refugees and immigrants from war-torn homelands. In 1979-1980 alone, almost 60 000 refugees and immigrants came to Canada. They ran from the terrible conditions of refugee camps in Southeast Asia after the Vietnam War. Between 1980 and 1989, the Vietnamese represented the largest group of new immigrants to Canada — 92 000 came.

Many Canadians worked with community and church groups to sponsor Southeast Asian refugees to come to Canada. These immigrants are now working to unite their families and establish new lives in Canada. They are following a path similar to the refugees and immigrants who came before them. They have formed various cultural groups and institutions to help them preserve their cultural heritage, while they become Canadians.

> "Vietnam, I am so familiar with this name. It is the country I was born in and grew up in. I passed my childhood in this country. And I was so pleased with the language, the weather, the customs, and all of my relatives and friends there.

This student attends the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton.

This family enjoys playing the music of their adopted country.

"Before the Communists came in, Vietnam was a nice country. It produced rice, vegetables and fish and soy sauce. The weather there is warm. It has two seasons, sunny and rainy. And people had their own businesses. They could trade freely. And the society was 'fair and square.' They were so happy because life was settled there.

"But after the Communists came in, they changed the law. They put the law into their own hands. If people wanted to do something they had to wait for permission from the Communists. If not, they would be put into the re-education camp and although the name was pretty, it was actually like a prison. Most of the people who went there could not survive. So, people had to change their lives, from happy to sad, from rich to poor.

"The Communists intervened with the Chinese who had factories, companies, stores, and many possessions. After that, they confiscated the houses of the Chinese. Then they drove them out of the city to an 'Economy Place.' But in that place there was no water, no houses, and no fields. It just looked like a cemetery. Many people died there without water, medical supplies, or food. People could not do anything yet they could not live there. Therefore, they left their country by small boats, but on the way they met many problems. The people who went out by boat met the storms. The people who went by foot met the mines. So, there are many people dead in the world, and many people who haven't any country of their own.

"Communists destroy the families. So everybody hates them forever!"

Vietnamese Student, 1980.

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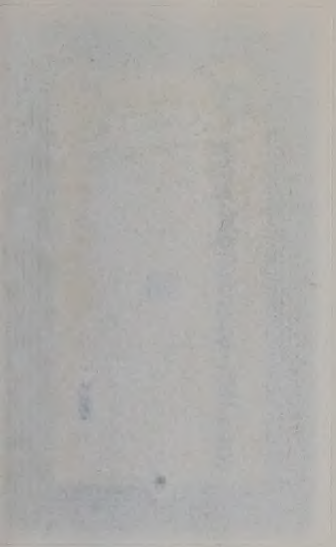

ISBN 0-88751-047-7

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